

Another Ukrainian dissident in the West

Stephan Semykivsky

## Svitlychna allowed to leave USSR

Nadya Svitlychna, a well known Ukrainian dissident, was allowed to leave the Soviet Union 14 October 1973 for Rome, along with her two sons.

Svitlychna has been associated with the activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Kiev since the early sixties, when she was involved with a folk choir which brought together many people active in the cultural revival of the 1960's in Ukraine. In 1965 Svitlychna's brother Ivan was arrested (he is now serving a sentence of seven years imprisonment and five years exile) and she went to his defence by writing letters and signing petitions to the authorities. She did the same in 1968 for Vacheslav Chornovil. Shortly afterwards she was dismissed from her job but continued her activities, and in 1970 pressed for a thorough examination of the murder (believed to have been planned by the KGB) of her friend, the artist Alla Horska.

When a massive wave of arrests began in Ukraine in January 1972, Svitlychna was summoned by the KGB every day for questioning, and was finally arrested in April 1972 for harbouring the manuscript of Danylo Shumuk's memoirs and other samyday materials. In March 1973 she was tried on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," and sentenced to four years imprisonment in a Moldavian labor camp.

In the camp, Svitlychna joined several other Ukrainian women political prisoners (Nina Strokata-Karavanska, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Stefania Shabatura, and Iryna Senyk) in preparing petitions and protests. In December 1974, for example, they presented demands to be granted the status of political prisoners, and refused to perform compulsory hard labor in connection with the beginning of International Women's Year (1975). Svitlychna was punished by imprisonment in solitary confinement for 2 weeks, and was later refused permission to see her son.

The women in the camp prepared various other protests and petitions for which they were often punished, and backed up their demands with frequent hunger strikes.

After being released from imprisonment in May 1976, Svitlychna tried to gain permission to live in Kiev. She finally received this permission in the summer of 1977, but

only after numerous complaints and petitions prepared on her behalf by other dissidents. She was not able to find work in her profession as a teacher, however, for "ideological" reasons.

Svitlychna was questioned several times in connection with the trial of other Ukrainian dissidents such as Rudenko, Marynovych, Matusevych and Snehrov, and was threatened with a new trial for her activities and her

case had not attracted much publicity in the west, has also been released. The Canadian government has recently been requested to pressure the Soviet Union for the release of another prisoner, Danylo Shumuk, a 63-year old Ukrainian political prisoner who is believed to be close to death from stomach cancer. Shumuk has several relatives in Canada, and, considering his state of health, it is possible that he will soon be allowed to leave the Soviet Union. Mykola Budulak-Sharygin, a Ukrainian who lived in Great Britain after the

war, and was arrested in 1968 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment during a business trip to the Soviet Union, has also just been released from imprisonment, as a holder of a British passport, is demanding that he be allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

One can only hope that any possible new arrivals in the west will not be overly disillusioned upon meeting Ukrainian emigre communities. They may not be as tolerant in dealing with these communities as are Plyushch and Grigorenko, both of whom have

shown enormous patience and understanding in dealing with the often irrational and paranoid attitudes and statements of certain sectors of the Ukrainian community. Despite their ill health and Grigorenko's advanced age, both have shown great energy and dedication in visiting Ukrainian communities throughout the world and publicizing, before non-Ukrainian audiences, the struggle

(SVITLYCHNA continued on page 2)



Nadya Svitlychna

contacts with the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. The authorities also threatened to take away her son because of her "poor influence on his upbringing." For several months before her release she had been under intense pressure from KGB officials, and had been desperately trying to leave the Soviet Union for abroad.

Nadya Svitlychna has been closely connected with many of those active in Ukrainian dissident activity during the last 10-15 years, and, as an "insider," will doubtlessly have a very interesting perspective on the events of that period.

Until now, as a rule, very few dissidents of non-Russian or non-Jewish origin have been allowed to leave the Soviet Union. Soviet policy on the "export" of dissidents, however, is unpredictable. One can speculate endlessly on the reasons why certain dissidents have been released, but in the Ukrainian case precedents have clearly been established: two dissidents (Plyushch and Grigorenko) who were well-known in the west among non-Ukrainians, have been released, and now Nadya Svitlychna, whose

## Multicultural questions left unanswered

Andriy Makuch

The Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, entitled "Multiculturalism: A Canadian Reality" was held October 27-29 in Ottawa. The conference is a biennial affair sponsored by the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (COCM), a government appointed citizens' advisory body which recommends priorities in the multicultural programme. Andriy Makuch, former SUSK president, was in attendance as the official SUSK delegate and has written his impressions of the conference. This is the first of two parts.

The Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism took place — but what actually transpired, and its significance, can be measured only by one's fancy. For the staff of the Multicultural Directorate, it was one more event under their belts; for the Honourable Minister Responsible for Multiculturalism, Mr. Norman Calix, it was another opportunity to preach the gospel of multiculturalism as the Liberal party; for many in attendance, it was simply a "freebie" to the nation's capital; for others — especially among the youth delegates — it was an enlightening and inspiring experience. But, the entire affair lacked clear direction and concrete resolutions, a particularly distressing fact in light of the conference's sub-theme, "Multiculturalism in the Next Five Years." It started by asking fundamental questions and ended on an uncompromisingly non-committal tone.

Senator Peter Bosa, Chairman of the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (COCM), started the conference by pointing out the key questions to keep in mind throughout the proceedings. Bosa asked whether people fully appreciated what multiculturalism entailed in terms of assimilation versus integration (and what sort of "integration" was acceptable) and whether they were clear in their expectations of a multiculturalism policy (or whether they were simply looking for psychological and financial aid). These questions are as relevant today as they were ten to fifteen years ago when the concept of multiculturalism was first being articulated. Yet, they are still unresolved. From such opening notes, the conference went in all directions.

The first formal session was a panel dealing with non-English, non-French minorities in Quebec, an attempt to emphasize the fact that multiculturalism is relevant in that province and not a clever plot

by les Anglais to assimilate the French, or to relegate them to a second-class ethnic status. The first

However, before he made that statement, Lalonde downplayed greatly the need for such an inclusion, saying that specific reference to the contributions of Canada's "original inhabitants" and the "enduring communities of distinctive origins and experiences" in the proposed Constitutional Amendment Bill imply the full realm of multicultural rights in other words, Lalonde claimed that the direct



speaker, Ms. Therese Laroie-Roux claimed that since the French have gained greater control of their own resources, they have gained the ability and desire to deal with matters of immigration and integration. The Immigration Bill of 1968 has ushered in a new era of awareness for Quebec of her duties to her new citizens. This view contrasted sharply with that of the second speaker, Mr. Renzo Vieno, who claimed that despite a greater awareness of a "third force" in Quebec, their lot has not improved noticeably. They are subject to assimilative efforts by both races, have only a one-way participation in their society, and are rapidly becoming a "third solitude".

The luncheon on Friday, October 27, had an unexpected dessert as Marc Lalonde, (federal) Minister of Inter-Provincial Affairs announced that the government was "willing to consider" including in the word "multiculturalism" in the text of the proposed constitution.

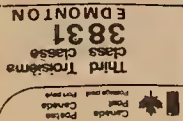
references to the non-English, non-French constituted a specific action in their behalf even though it carries with it no assurances for the future.

The youth delegates and community leaders were separated for the Friday afternoon sessions, the former going to discussion workshops, the latter coming together for a plenary session where briefs were presented. These briefs were of varying quality and displayed so wide a variety of interests that it was difficult to imagine that they had all been written under the rubric of "multiculturalism in the next five years". Aboriginal peoples, visible minorities, established ethnic communities, and recent immigrant groups all expressed basically their own concerns, and did not meet on any common ground.

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STUDENT is a national, trilingual and monthly newspaper for Ukrainian-Canadian students, published by the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union (SUSK).

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The opinions and thoughts expressed in STUDENT represent the particular situation in which the Ukrainian-Canadian student movement finds itself, both within the Ukrainian-Canadian community and within Canadian society. Opinions expressed in individual signed articles are not necessarily those of the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union or of the STUDENT editorial board.

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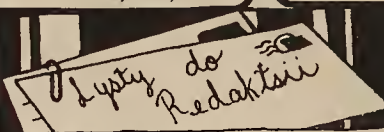
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## Are you sure?

Dear Sir:

In the "Club News" section of your September-October 1978 issue you state (page 9) "The great influx of new members is extremely encouraging — over two-thirds of the members are completely new to the club and fully half of the executive are immigrants to Edmonton".

The term members is in all probability a misprint for members, unless you are using the shlemazel dialect of Yiddish, in that language and in Hebrew, from which it is borrowed, the word means 'bastard'.

The executive of the University of Alberta Ukrainian Students' Club would be interested in knowing how your correspondent arrived at this information about our colleagues (which certainly has been unknown to us) and what other similarly piquant information (s)he might have access to.

Inquisitively yours,  
The University of Alberta Ukrainian Students' Club Executive

(Although some people may agree that many of the U of A club members are members, the form members in this case was merely a misprint for members. Sorry for any confusion — Ed.)

## We are read?

До Українського Студента?

Я більше не бажав вашого ЛІБАЛІБКОГО часопису «Студент». Прошу більше мені його не виводити. Кожен часопис відповісти на це. Моя адреса нині підписана. СХАМЕНІТЬСЯ.

Roman Zachariak  
South Australia

## Blah, Blah, Blah ...

I found J. Strybunetz's thesis ("Semiotik Taken to Task", June 1978) as to the struggle between the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (herein called UCC) and the Professional and Business Clubs (herein the P's & B's) to be fascinating and entertaining, and because I am a bit wary of sociological explanations for ideological beliefs — unconvincing. Strybunetz has rationalized that control of the Ukrainian im-

migrant elite by the UCC and the UCC's representations for over 30 years on behalf of that elite, has been "responsible", yet nevertheless the P's & B's have taken upon themselves to wrest control from the UCC and become the spokesman for a new elite! Not so, Strybunetz.

Nevertheless, Strybunetz has raised a number of interesting questions, which should be clarified for the record.

a) Strybunetz's assessment that the old guard UCC is in competition with the P's and B's for control of the community is erroneous. The P's and B's cannot hope to match the obsequious manner in which the old guard UCC have dealt with all government bodies over the past 30 years. The P's and B's are too rooted politically and socially to compete with the old guard UCC. One does not fight a windmill! One allows it to run itself to the ground — the UCC is allowing itself to do.

b) Political assimilation is much to be desired. It assists in the removal of the old guard leaders and their supporters from leadership in all Ukrainian organizations, especially in the UCC.

c) The P's and B's have never held themselves up as spokesmen for the community. The fact is that the P's and B's, have on occasion acted as spokesmen for their Clubs in matters such as education and immigration. The total membership of the P's and B's is but a fraction of Canada's total Ukrainian population.

d) Strybunetz is quite right in saying that the old guard is trying valiantly to hang on to power. But then what else does this motley collection do, after 30 years of musical chairs and picture taking sessions in front of old buildings and new monuments?

e) The P's and B's have never shown any interest in seeking to gain control of established organizations. Strybunetz confuses the P's and B's with Jerry and his troops. (See "Living with Jerry", STUDENT, June 1978).

f) It is true that the P's and B's initiatives in areas of education and immigration and the opening of an Ottawa office have not been well received by the old guard UCC. But this has been one of the UCC's weaknesses from its inception. The UCC, although itself inactive, late in acting and often incompetent, has never welcomed initiative. If one could subvert the UCC's modus operandi to more useful purposes, the UCC could accommodate and indeed incorporate initiatives by the P's and B's and others.

g) Strybunetz suggests that

## CKBY (WCFU) in the NEXT FIVE YEARS

outline of the Ukrainian Canadian Student Union (SUSK) position to be presented at the

## Third World Congress of Free Ukrainians New York, November 23-26, 1978

1. The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union states its support for the concept the CKBY (WCFU) as an international coordinating body of Ukrainian organizations outside of the Soviet Union.
2. The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union urges CKBY (WCFU) to continue and broaden its activity in the field of religious, human and national rights in the Soviet Union.
3. The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union urges the Third CKBY (WCFU) delegates to support the concept of professionalism (budget, financing, operations, lobbying, etc.) within CKBY, while jointly continuing the practice of voluntary based association among our community organizations.
4. The Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union recognizes
  - a) that the World Congress of Free Ukrainians is composed of National umbrella organizations of various countries (e.g., the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Canada, and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in the U.S.A.), and therefore can be no more effective in implementing its goals than its constituent organizations will allow it to be.
  - b) that a healthy world body can only be founded on democratic national umbrella organizations in its constituent countries.
  - c) that until the national umbrella organizations in the WCFU are significantly overhauled, particularly in regard to free, universal, secret, and one-person-one-vote elections of their leadership, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians will remain largely ineffectual.
  - d) that SUSK declares its willingness to work toward democratizing Ukrainian community life, and calls upon the delegates to the World Congress of Free Ukrainians to endorse the same viewpoint.
5. Conditional upon the CKBY Congress' recognition of point four of this position paper, the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union calls for the following changes in the CKBY (WCFU) constitution. The practice of consensus decision-making should be changed with respect to: 1) Executive Elections, 2) Constitutional Changes, and 3) Plenary Sessions, such that free, universal, secret and one-person-one-vote decisions are the rule.

## Svitlychna

(continued from page 1)

of Ukrainian oppositionists and other human rights activists in the Soviet Union.

Yet, despite all of their efforts, this is often still not enough, and both Plyushch and Grigorenko constantly have to "prove" themselves before Ukrainian communities in the west. Others may not be as patient as they have been.

Many Ukrainian community

leaders have been far too ready to criticize exiled Ukrainian dissidents for their views without examining their own "hangups" and prejudices. They will, in the future, have to show much more flexibility and understanding in order to prevent these dissidents from becoming increasingly alienated from the Ukrainian communities in the West.

## New Diyaloh Publication Released

Один повідомляємо, що Видавництво «Діалог» опублікувало як своє перше книжкове видання спогади видатного літературного критика і громадського діяча Григорія Костюка п.н. Окаєнні роки: від Лук'янівської тюрми до Воркутської трагедії (1935-1940 рр.). В книжці описані переживання автора на Воркуті та вперше у мемуаристичній літературі описано масовий страйк воркутських в'язнів у 1937-38 рр. Григорій Костюк подає багато даних про українських кудатурних та полі-

тичних діячів 1920-х і 30-х років, що надає книжці неповторну документальну цінність. Сподіваємося, що книжка буде оцінена як важливий вклад у літературу про нашу новітню історію, та що нею поцікавиться широке коло читачів. Продажна ціна книжки — 6.00 дол.

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# A New Constitution for Canada, Part III: The Canadian Federation Coming Apart at the Seams

Dave Lupul

*The continuing crisis of federalism in Canada has been a topic constantly in the news since the election of the Parti Quebecois government in November 1976. The situation reflects all of the characteristics of a run-of-the-mill soap opera, including a constant series of seemingly endless plot complications and a story line which refuses to resolve itself despite the exit and entrance of numerous characters. This article, the last of Dave Lupul's three-part series on the new Constitution, will not attempt to describe the ongoing saga of 'In Search of a Renewed Canadian Federation', as no one should be subjected to this equivalent of watching fifteen years of "Search for Tomorrow" re-runs. Nor will the Quebec question be outlined in detail, as this was already quite extensively examined in the October 1977 edition of STUDENT (Vol. 10, No. 39). Instead, this article will take a rather impressionistic view of the discontent which is evident throughout Canada, directed mainly against the federal Liberal government which has become so closely identified with those forces which are seeking greater central authority in Canada. Some reasons as to why nearly all of the provincial premiers are unsatisfied with the existing constitution and desire greater provincial autonomy will also be discussed.*

Another federal-provincial conference on the constitution has come and gone without any real, concrete progress made towards resolving the profound differences between the provinces and the federal government. The meetings held in Ottawa from October 30 - November 1, 1978 were the first public forum for most of the new generation of premiers of the 1970's to express their views on constitutional issues. Only Hatfield of New Brunswick and Davis of Ontario had been present at the Victoria conference in June 1971, at which a Charter had been tentatively agreed upon, only to be subsequently rejected by Premier Bourassa of Quebec.

In some respects, however, this most recent conference may have been a first step in the process of reconstituting the structure of Canada and therefore the upcoming series of discussions may be the most important since the Confederation meetings of 1864-1867. For not only are these meetings attempting to resolve the most critical challenge to Canada's existence in its history — the Parti Quebecois — they must also resolve the fundamental divisions which have intensified between the various regions of Canada. Strong premiers, in addition to Premier Levesque, such as Blakeney of Saskatchewan, Lougheed of Alberta, and Bennett of British Columbia are contesting the existing power relationships in which the interests of central Canada, especially southern Ontario, have dominated. The profound differences which exist, reflecting the fundamentally diverse economic interests of the various regions of Canada, do not allow for much optimism about the continuation of Canada as a united and integrated country. The distinct impression arises that Canada is beginning to resemble more and more a family which is coming apart at the seams.

## Breakup of the Canadian 'Family'?

To carry this analogy further, consider for a moment the Canada's recent history within the context of familial relations. Let us imagine Canada as a family, a product of a marriage arranged by "Mother Britain between her 'son' Ontario and her 'daughter-in-law', Quebec. In fact, the two protagonists, Ontario and Quebec, began "living together" in 1841, when Britain arranged a common law union in which each partner held an equal position. By the 1860's this arrangement was not working satisfactorily, as Ontario had become the more dominant partner and wanted more say in matters.

Therefore, in 1867, Ontario and Quebec decided to set out an agreement, which we will call a "marriage contract", whereby issues of common concern would be decided by a federal government in Ottawa, while matters which pertained mainly to their own concerns would be decided by themselves alone. These respective areas of federal and provincial jurisdiction were spelled out in the BNA Act, which received "Mother" Britain's stamp of approval. Some of Ontario's "relatives" wanted to join in, namely the Maritime Provinces, so they were included in the agreement and they all agreed to live in the same "house" under a common roof.

Things may have worked out more or less smoothly between members of the family, had it not been for the arrival of children onto the scene. Four new youngsters arrived between 1870 and 1905, namely Manitoba, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Alberta. A struggle commenced between Ontario and Quebec as to the manner in which the children should be brought up.

British Columbia was basically a spoiled child, having extremely materialistic desires, and had to be promised a railway to the West Coast before joining Confederation. Manitoba and the remainder of the West were positively rebellious in their early years, being under the influence of Metis and Indians led by Louis Riel. To counter this disobedience, "Father" Ontario was determined to make over his western "children" in his own image. Ontario imposed his institutions and values on the west, denying the right of French-speaking children in the West to learn French in Roman Catholic schools in western Canada. These actions were deeply resented by "Mother" Quebec, as she felt that they violated the terms of the understanding reached in 1867 to develop Canada as a partnership.

As a result, Quebec retreated into her shell, only reluctantly participating in common activities of the family, which remained dominated by Ontario. Twice, the entire family sought to force her to contribute alongside them to an equal extent in the war efforts against Germany by imposing military conscription in 1917 and 1944. Both times, Quebec remained unwilling to sacrifice everything for her British mother-in-law, and her ties to her father, France, were already too tenuous to retain much emotional attachment.

Following the two world wars, Quebec began to become more self-confident about her abilities and she began to assert herself more vigorously, wanting more freedom "to do her own thing" within the marriage. She wanted to be "maitre chez eux" (master in her own home) and no longer be told what to do by the rest of the family.

By this time, the children were also growing up and coming into their own. They began to assert their rights against "Father" Ontario, especially as they came more and more under the influence of their rich neighbour to the south, the U.S.A. The family was increasingly in danger of being seduced by the Americans' wealth and power, which threatened to erase the links which had tied the family together for over one hundred years. Finally, in 1976, "Mother" Quebec threatened to leave the marriage. She proposed in its place a co-habitation agreement

with Ontario whereby they would still share the same bank account, but would terminate their conjugal relations and pursue their own lives separately. But Quebec retained mixed feelings about divorcing herself from Ontario, and negotiations continue to be undertaken with the family lawyer to attempt a reconciliation based on a new arrangement. However, at last report, the family appeared to be further from agreement than ever before.

## The Decline and Fall of a Liberal Canada

The analogy which I have used to illuminate the historical evolution of Canada is necessarily a caricature of reality, and only gives a superficial analysis of the forces operating against the continuation of a united Canada. Nevertheless, it does reflect the kind of perceptions which the Canadian people have had toward one another since Confederation. It does not, however, explain one very important question: why are the central governments in the U.S., West Germany and other federal states becoming stronger vis-a-vis the provinces, whereas in Canada the federal government is continually under pressure by the provinces?

One common answer has been that the existence of a large concentration of French-speaking people in Quebec has prevented the identification of the central government with the national purpose, and therefore the federal government has been unable to assert a national policy on many issues. Therefore, the provinces have become more assertive to protect their distinctive regional "cultures". This explanation is unsatisfactory. In many cases, assertions of regional identities by the provinces have nothing to do with the issues which they are quarrelling about — in fact, they are more often rationalizations for vested economic and institutional interests.

What are these economic and institutional interests? They are reflected in the changing nature of the Canadian economy in the last one hundred years. Montreal and Winnipeg, the strongholds of the mercantile bourgeoisie and tariff-protected industries who depended upon east-west trade within Canada (as exemplified in the construction of the CPR), have been in relative decline since the First World War. It was these interests which provided key support for Macdonald's vision of a strongly centralized Canada and who transferred their allegiance to Mackenzie King's Liberals following the Conservative Party's nationalization of the Canadian National Railway in 1920. The rise of Toronto, Vancouver, and more recently, Calgary, as the new strongholds of economic power reflected the shift to an economy, or rather a collection of regional economies, based on natural resources under provincial jurisdiction and relying heavily on American investment for their development. These new bourgeois classes associated with resource development have less need of a strong central government, but their interests require control of the provincial states and strengthening them vis-a-vis Ottawa.

Another important and related reason for the strength of the provinces and the relative weakness of Ottawa lies in the regional specialization of the economy, each sector being dominated by a particular province. Oil and gas are concentrated in Alberta, potash in Saskatchewan, lumber in British Columbia, automobile manufacturing in Ontario, hydroelectricity in Quebec, and so forth. Resource development has been associated with increasing economic integration between Canada and the United States, as measured by trade, capital flows, and American ownership and control of Canadian enterprise. The trend in the direction of a single North American economy has resulted in the Canadian bourgeoisie looking increasingly to Washington rather than Ottawa to perform many of the central government's functions, ranging from the manipulation of interest rates to the protection of their investments in the Third World. At the same time we see the provinces becoming more closely tied to the corresponding region of the United States to their south and less integrated with one another.

In this context, it is not surprising that the provincial governments are reluctant to agree on common principles for the continuation of the Canadian federation. It is also significant that six of the provincial governments are now controlled by the Conservatives, whereas only one — the relatively insignificant Prince Edward Island — remains Liberal. The Conservative party has adopted the attack of these American-dominated corporations against "big government" and "excessive spending" which are invariably directed against the federal government, even though Ottawa's taxing and spending levels have increased much less in recent years than those of the provincial states. An interesting analysis has been advanced by Reginald Whitaker, author of *The Government Party: Organizing and Financing the Liberal Party of Canada, 1930-1958*, to explain this phenomenon:

The identification of the federal government as the source of economic deterioration is understandable at one level, given the primary role played by Ottawa in the post-war world. But the failure to include the provincial governments within the same bitter diatribe suggests a less innocent orientation. There is strong reason to argue that the major thrust of contemporary capitalist development in Canada, primarily in the extraction of natural resources, is towards the weakening of the national state system and the balkanization of the country into regional dependencies of

the American Empire. The Conservative call for the 'decentralization' of Confederation, clothed in the self-serving rhetoric of freedom and local initiative, has now been given further impetus by the spectre of the Quebec independence movement enshrined in office in Quebec City and the precipitous crisis of Trudeau's federalism. It may well be that 'decentralization' is an ideology whose time has come, with very powerful interests in support.

Indeed, it may very well be the ideology of 'decentralization' which may sweep the Conservatives to power in the next federal election, wherein real federal-provincial negotiations over the division of powers will begin, unfettered by the existing partisan acrimony between Trudeau and the provincial Premiers. A Conservative sweep may also spell the beginning of the end for the Liberal party as a major political force in Canadian politics, for a redistribution of powers to the provinces would make the federal government an impotent instrument, incapable of carrying out traditional Liberal-centralist policies of accommodating regional differences in the future. The raison d'être of the Liberal party is increasingly disappearing as the new urban middle classes of Southern Ontario are joining those of western Canada and the Maritimes in voting predominantly Conservative. Only in Quebec does the English-speaking middle class remain loyal to the Liberals, as a reaction to its fear of separatism; a majority of the French-speaking community in Quebec has already turned to the Parti Quebecois, as its primary focus has become the provincial government.

Major opposition to the Conservatives' decentralizing policies on the federal level will likely gravitate to the party with a program of economic and/or cultural nationalism rather than to the Liberals, who have been permeated by the anti-nationalistic doctrines of Mackenzie King, Pearson, Mitchell Sharp and Trudeau. Indeed, one observer has noted that

...the continuity of Liberal theory from King to Trudeau is marked by a consistent policy of either encouraging, or acquiescing in, the continued integration of Canada into the dynamic liberal society of the United States (W. Christian and C. Campbell, *Political Parties and Ideologies in Canada*, p. 71).

But the major political battles in the future will be fought on the provincial level; the pattern is already being set in western Canada, where divisions within the electorate are becoming more sharply drawn along the lines of class and ethnicity, where predominantly lower class ethnocultural groups tend to vote against the middle and upper class and the established ethnocultural groups. This is evident in the polarization between the Conservative/Social Credit parties versus the N.D.P. throughout most of western Canada, as well as between the Liberals and the Parti Quebecois in la belle province.

## Whither are We Drifting?

To sum up, the BNA Act, which had originally been designed to promote a highly centralized federation whereby the federal government would be the primary instrument of national economic development, became distorted in favour of the provinces because of the retention of provincial control of natural resources within that constitutional document. The increasing importance of the resource sector to the Canadian economy has resulted in a shift of power from the federal government to the provinces in recent years.

In the light of these profound changes, it should be obvious that such Liberal proposals as reforming the Senate into a House of Federation which would seek to represent provincial interests at the federal level are completely inadequate responses to its problems posed by the disintegration of the federal system. The internal conflicts within Canadian federalism are too profound to be remedied by the creation of a body as pitifully impotent as the proposed House of Federation. Tinkering with the Senate in the hope of creating a forum in which federal-provincial tensions might be resolved is a hopelessly legalistic solution to problems which are deeply rooted in the structure of Canadian society. Moreover, the retention of a body as fundamentally undemocratic as the Senate as a representative of provincial and minority rights brings to mind John A. Macdonald's famous aphorism that "the rights of the minority ought to be protected, and the rich are always fewer in number than the poor."

A fundamental redistribution of powers from the federal government to the provinces might partially alleviate the friction between the two levels of government, but would not likely alter the basic patterns which are working toward the dissolution of Canada along north-south lines. In addition, there is a limit to the extent to which Canada can be further decentralized without destroying the nature of Canada as a single federal state. As Trudeau has argued, "There are ten premiers and one federal Prime Minister. He, [Joe Clark] would change it to eleven premiers. That is a fine, fine way to do it, but who would speak for Canada?"

The federal Liberal party allegedly seeks to retain sufficient economic power on the federal level in order to be able to redress the wide regional disparities in wealth between regions. This quite frankly, appears to be a rather socialistic ideal for a party such as the Liberals to espouse, committed as they are to the preference for private capital over public enterprise. Moreover, the evidence of the last one hundred years has demonstrated that the private sector, dominated by foreign capital, is hardly interested in reducing regional disparities, never mind the continuation of Canada as an independent state.

In conclusion, the future of Canada may depend upon how willing the provincial states are willing to surrender part of their independence of action in the interests of maintaining a common front against the external part posed by the United States. Are the Canadian people willing to support politicians who assert the need to develop Canadian resources in the public interest under Canadian control? Or have we already become so economically dependent upon the Americans that our total absorption into the United States is only a matter of time?



# The History of Ukrainian Women: In Search of Our Feminist Heritage

Suspecting that she was embarking on a history of "ladies auxiliaries", Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, professor of history at Manhattanville College in Purchase, New York, was surprised when her research on the history of the Ukrainian women's movement in the 19th century and inter-war Galicia brought to light a sophisticated feminist analysis and evidence of a serious economic thrust in the work of Ukrainian women's organization. "Natalia Kobrynska: Formulator of Feminism" and "Socialism and Feminism: The First Stages of Women's Organizations in the Eastern Part of the Austrian Empire," two papers which Bohachevsky-Chomiak recently presented at the University of Alberta indicate that, once completed, her research will be a landmark of Ukrainian history and the history of Ukrainian women's movements in particular.

Her work pierces the myth of the Ukrainian woman being politically active only on questions of nationalism and communism. On the contrary, it brings to light an autonomous and well-developed feminist activity in her struggle for equality. The Ukrainian woman not only had to fight sexism but national chauvinism, economic backwardness and male "liberators." Situating women's movement in the political and social context of the time, Bohachevsky-Chomiak has provided a rich portrait of the beginning of Ukrainian feminist activity.

Women's studies have not always been Bohachevsky-Chomiak's research interest. After completing her grammar and high school education at the St. Basil's Academy in Philadelphia, she attended the University of Pennsylvania where she received her Master of Arts degree for writing a thesis on the 1848 revolutionary events in Eastern Galicia (this study has since been published as *The Spring of a Nation: The Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia in 1848*). She attended Columbia University on scholarship and received her doctorate in 1968, the topic of her thesis being the crisis of value in the Russian intelligentsia. She turned her attention to Ukrainian women's studies only after the publication of her second book, *Trubetskoi: An Intellectual among the Intelligentsia*.

It all started with a request from the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (W.F.U.W.O.) to write a short handbook on Ukrainian women's movements which could be used in the organizations' work with non-Ukrainian women. As a professional historian with an interest in social history, she agreed to take on the project. The study has since taken on a trajectory of its own. Bohachevsky-Chomiak explains that in order to do the subject justice she has had to do original research on the political configuration of Polish-Austrian relations in the Austrian Empire as well as provide a picture of society at that time. She started her work by applying for and receiving a Fulbright grant to subsidize her research in Poland and Austria.

When asked whether her research has changed her concept of the "Ukrainian woman", Bohachevsky-Chomiak stated that she "never realized the extent of feminist analysis, especially that of Kobrynska. Nor was I aware of the economic thrust of the activity of the women's organizations and the effect it had on the peasantry, not only in terms of making it more nationally conscious but in bringing it into modernity."

When she started her research, she found that published material on the Ukrainian women's movement was quite limited. "Because women were a silent part of society one must depend to a greater extent on literature and publicistic work." That is not to say that nothing has been published on the question. "In

the 1940's and 1950's, Ukrainian women's groups published short books on their organizations. The other books on this topic, for example Polonska-Vasylenko's and Sofia Rusova's works, have restricted themselves to depicting the exceptional women.

One of the problems with research on the women's question is that one has to go through tons of extraneous material before one finds pearls of information."

In her study Bohachevsky-Chomiak relies on materials such as women's periodical press, some memoirs, non-women's periodical press (in which she found reports of local women's organizations) and statistics. She poured over uncatalogued materials in the repositories of the Jagiellonian library and the old and new archives in Warsaw, the Przemysl archives. Reports of the Greek Catholic Institute for Widows and Orphans as well as clandestine reports of the Greek Catholic Church, all of which provided insight on the women's situation at that time. Reports in the police archives in Warsaw provided particularly revealing information about the peasantry. She has supplemented information from these sources with interviews

In comparing her research on the women's question to her previous historical work, Bohachevsky-Chomiak feels that "in a sense it is all enmeshed. Basically, I am interested in social history. The study of the Russian intelligentsia has helped me to understand developments in the Ukrainian context." She does not consider her study of the history of the Ukrainian women's movement at all parochial. "By bringing in Eastern European history, intellectual thought and social history, I am not viewing women in a vacuum." She has found, however, that some scholars still view women's studies with certain apprehension. "If you have an established reputation in another area it is easier to establish credibility for women's studies."

Being professionally secure has served to protect her from any pressure from the Ukrainian community to make the historical image of Ukrainian women's organizations conform to any particular view. However, when she started her academic career she was disturbed that the Ukrainian community had felt that she had turned her back on it when she began to study Russian history. "My

generation was under the pressure of either staying in the ghetto and being accepted or getting involved in the larger community and being considered a traitor." She is also pressured by some male colleagues who feel that women's studies are not particularly interesting and that she should get back to more "serious work."

When asked about the relevance of her research for the feminist movements and Ukrainian women's movements of today, she replies that "the major discovery for feminism generally is Natalia Kobrynska, who in the 19th century maintained that socialism without feminist consciousness-raising would perpetuate the subordinate

position of women in society, even in a progressive community." For Ukrainian women in particular, knowledge of the role Ukrainian women played in the past is important for their self-image. Bohachevsky-Chomiak feels that "Ukrainians in general and Ukrainian women in particular have been robbed of their history. They either see themselves in terms of idealized stereotypes or have no historical image of themselves at all." From what she has observed of the present day Ukrainian women's organizations, she finds that "they do not understand contemporary feminist strivings and are fearful of them. If they knew better what women before them thought they

would be able to contribute more creatively to contemporary movements."

What started as a short handbook for the W.F.U.W.O. has turned into a major project on the history of the Ukrainian women's movements. Already Bohachevsky-Chomiak's work has aroused interest not only in the academic community but also among Ukrainian women of all generations. Her papers have provided the beginnings of the history of Ukrainian women's activity and in doing so have posed the question of whether contemporary Ukrainian women's organizations or individual activists can match the contributions of their historical antecedents.

## Woman in Struggle: Natalia Kobrynska (1851-1920)

Halyna Freeland

Natalia Kobrynska, founder of the feminist movement in Western Ukraine, struggled in the 19th century with many of the same issues that are faced by feminists today. Her firm position on the women's question brought her in conflict with all sectors of her society.

She was born June 8, 1851 at Bebeliia, a small Carpathian village, in to the family of a Catholic priest. Although Kobrynska was the oldest and the most clever of the children, she was a girl and therefore was not sent to school. Her schooling was all done at home.

However, her brothers went to the "gymnasiums" for higher education and spent the summers at home with their friends, often discussing social and political questions. During these sessions, Kobrynska began to formulate her position on these questions.

In this milieu Kobrynska met her spouse, Theophile Kobrynsky, a very sensitive and liberal seminarian. They married in 1871.

Shortly after the marriage, Kobrynska decided that internationalism was the way of the future. This belief, however, was tempered by her knowledge of local

conditions in the village. The illiteracy, backwardness, poverty and extreme abuse of women and children convinced her that these issues, as well as the "larger problems," had to be worked on. This willingness to work for small steps at a time came to characterize her organizational work in the women's movement.

During her husband's life, she supported his attempts to organize the cultural life of the village where he served as priest. Kobrynska also continued her study and during this period decided that in order to prepare herself for future work she would not have any children. Her husband's death eleven years after their marriage later interrupted her activity. She moved back to her parent's home, and thereafter devoted herself entirely to the women's movement.

In 1883, Kobrynska began her career as a writer with a story entitled *Madame Shumskaya*. She sought not only to write, but to use her writing as an instrument for social change, pointing out the condition of women through the lives of her characters. With her writing, she began the tradition of women writers in the Western Ukraine to affect social change through their writing.

However, Kobrynska decided that this was not enough. She was convinced that the women's issue was basically one of economics which required a complete overhaul of society. The solution could only come through organized activity.

A rally in Kolomyia 7 August 1884 organized by students around the issue of Ukrainians as a language of education, convinced Kobrynska of the feasibility of organizing women in a women's movement, as the students had organized themselves. She called an organizational meeting for the women's movement for 8 December 1884. Franko supported this attempt in *Dilo*, the major progressive newspaper in Galicia at the time, through articles and advertisements. Scores of women and representatives of all progressive movements in Western Ukraine attended the meeting.

Soon, however, Kobrynska was attacked by the radicals who argued that the women's movement was a bourgeois phenomenon and that the women's question would only be solved by solution of the social question. In opposition, Kobrynska argued that women must organize as a mass movement and not a class movement. "Even among socialists and under socialism, women will have to struggle for their rights. Men will not automatically drop their learned mannerisms of male superiority simply because the economic and social conditions have changed,"

Kobrynska argued.

She further held that no distinctions should be drawn between the bourgeois and workers' women's movements. "The right to vote and the right to work have no class barriers; the labour of the proletariat and the attempt of women to educate themselves for a profession reflect the same striving toward economic equality and the need for productive labour."

Nevertheless, she thought it was best to work within the ranks of progressive social democratic movements. For this she was accused of destroying the family — the heart of the nation. Any attempt to wrench women from the home was viewed as an attack on the nation.

Kobrynska believed that economic changes in society were causing the disintegration of the family, and that the new economic situation dictated that women must find employment outside the home and thus find new roles. She hoped that a complete restructuring of society would result, and to help the change she worked to establish day care centers and communal kitchens in the villages. The day care centers would later be taken over by nationalists as a method of nurturing the Ukrainian culture.

Her other important ideological difference was with organizations of liberal establishment women. These ladies were apprehensive of new trends, especially of socialism, which they identified with terrorism, atheism, destruction of the home and family, and run-away children. They proposed only moderate changes, which Kobrynska argued, would not alleviate women's condition since it was dependant on broad social and economic changes in society.

As a result of these ideological differences with various contemporary groups, Kobrynska found herself virtually alone in her feminist struggle. She was a militant feminist until her death and complained bitterly about the lack of militant feminism among Ukrainian women. She rightly predicted that she would be venerated after her death, but said that she would prefer support while she was alive.

The issues faced by Kobrynska are very similar to the issues faced by feminists today. The question which must be asked is why these issues are not settled but continually recur.

One of the possible answers is that the history of the women's movement is largely unknown and thus the same mistakes are repeated. A more significant answer is that the oppression of women is the most basic oppression, serving as the prototype for all other oppressions, and thus the women's struggle is the most difficult of all.



Natalia Kobrynska



# Preserving our Printed Past: Ukrainian-Canadian Newspaper Collection

Nestor Makuch

Ukrainian Canadians not only do not know about one of their most valuable historical records, the Ukrainian-Canadian press, but through oversight and negligence are jeopardizing its very existence. This is the impression one got upon attending the 31 October 1978 Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) seminar presented by Frances Swyripa in Edmonton, entitled "Ukrainian-Canadian Newspaper Holdings in Canada." Ms. Swyripa is a research associate at the CIUS and is the author of *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English-language Works* (Edmonton, 1978).

Ms. Swyripa's seminar was based on research she has been doing on a CIUS project to microfilm all Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers, periodicals and almanacs. The first part of this project was the assessment of such holdings in Canada. This is now complete and the initial microfilming of all pre-1940 newspapers (an arbitrary division) is scheduled to begin early in the new year.

A major difficulty in such an undertaking is that there is no central place from which to begin.



Frances Swyripa

No systematic cataloguing or compilation of Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers has ever been done and the bulk of the project therefore entailed painstaking digging through scattered private and institutional holdings throughout Canada. This contrasts quite glaringly with problems faced by those doing historical research on general Canadian themes, as these researchers quite often already have organized central archival sources from which to begin. The importance of this CIUS project in laying the groundwork for future research into the history of Ukrainians in Canada thus cannot be overstressed.

Although both the Manitoba and Alberta Legislative libraries and the National Ethnic Archives contain some Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers, the bulk of the holdings in Canada are to be found in Ukrainian-Canadian institutions. Ms. Swyripa visited eighteen such institutions and has compiled a listing of over six hundred titles ranging from the first Ukrainian-Canadian newspaper published in 1903 to those currently appearing (as well as several hundred titles published outside of Canada). She has compiled a master card catalogue, containing all pertinent information on a publication, of the Ukrainian-Canadian newspapers and can safely say that this is the most complete record of such newspapers yet available.

However, storage conditions and access to these newspapers in the Ukrainian-Canadian institutions leaves much to be desired. Only one institution, for example, had a listing of its holdings, and even this was incomplete. Most of the holdings were dirty and dusty, while some were covered with wood shavings or plaster—all contributing to deterioration of the paper itself. Almost all storage areas had centipedes and spiders but these apparently are not as harmful as the silverfish (which eat paper) infesting some holdings, to say nothing of mice and rats. Most were stored with little thought for

their care and preservation, often in dingy unheated basements—a far cry from the smoke free atmosphere and controlled humidity necessary for their preservation. Microfilming thus seems to be the only way possible to preserve this historical record before it is completely lost to the ravages of time and nature.

However, even though the location of these newspapers is now known, their preservation on microfilm promises to be no easy task. They are scattered among four provinces and eighteen institutions, none of which want their material to be moved. Compiling complete runs of the newspapers is also a problem. An example was given of one newspaper for which a complete run must be compiled from seven different sources. A dilemma

is posed by incomplete collections. Ms. Swyripa could find complete sets for only approximately twenty-five percent of the newspapers, and must decide whether to record them now or to advertise for the missing issues and record only when (or if) they turn up.

When completed, this CIUS project will have made available to the serious researcher a wealth of information on the Ukrainians in Canada from the earliest times and from all religious and political points of view. One shudders to think of how close the Ukrainian-Canadian community came to losing this priceless record of its existence and can only regret that nobody took the initiative to preserve it much earlier.

## Formulator of Feminism

Christine Burdeniuk

In Edmonton, October 26th, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies hosted a special seminar, given by Dr. Mantha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, entitled "Natalia Kobrynska: A Formulator of Feminism". Dr. Bohachevsky-Chomiak is a professor of History at Manhattanville College, Purchase New York.

Natalia Kobrynska, one of the earliest Ukrainian feminists, forged her ideas in the volatile, conflict filled era of the latter half of the 19th century, her most active period beginning in the mid-1890's. Though primarily influenced by Galician circumstances she, nonetheless, was affected by the broader Ukrainian scene and by the Austrian regime.

Many of Kobrynska's messages are uncannily echoed in the present day feminist movement. She saw the women's issue as an economic one. In analyzing past and current trends Kobrynska concluded that women of the lower class had always worked outside the home and that, due to economic necessity, this situation would soon exist among middle and even upper class women. Kobrynska observed an increase in the number of single women and predicted that they would be the hardest hit. She called the middle class women "the proletariat of Galicia".

Basically Kobrynska argued for secular women's organizations which would raise their consciousness and open up educational opportunities for women. She called for universal suffrage and a socialist state advocating feminism, for without feminism, she felt socialism would mean continued exploitation of women. Though she was a convinced socialist Kobrynska differed from most of her contemporaries in that she believed change had to be gradual to be effective. She did not think, for example, that revolutionary change would better the women's lot in Galicia, since any "formal economic and political change would not affect the women's position." What was needed was a change in attitude. As she saw it, the labour of the proletariat and the women's cause for education were one in the same struggle for equality. Kobrynska's observations of the peasants led her to believe that a day-care system and central kitchens were needed. Not only would they be needed, but by separating the children from their parents it would be easier to organize the women and easier for them to influence the men. Kobrynska believed that there was a need for solidarity among all women to effect change in their status and aid in the amelioration of the deprived area.

Kobrynska directed her efforts to the middle class women of Galicia, primarily the city of Stanislaviv. She was a great believer in "the power of the pen". The written word was to be the medium by which a change in women's attitudes would be accomplished. It

was the only arena in which to influence society and tell society about women. Literature, for Kobrynska, reflected "the good and bad sides of social order". Thus, she concluded that literature was the best means to educate women and to "popularize progressive ideas".

By 1885 Kobrynska delineated plans for a women's almanac which would be "indicative of the effective literary action" she supported, which would "give women self-confidence" and which would "underscore solidarity of Ukrainian women". Unfortunately, the journal (*FORMULATOR* continued on page 10)

## Collectivization of Western Ukraine: Farmer versus the State

Zorjan Hromjak

Although collectivization of agriculture in Western Ukraine in the forties was not nearly as debilitating or inept as it was in Eastern Ukraine some fifteen years earlier, it nevertheless proved to be a difficult policy for the Soviet authorities to implement.

A group of university students, academics and community members delved into this problem recently during a Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) seminar entitled "Collectivization of Agriculture in West Ukraine and OUN/UPA Resistance, 1944-1950" and presented by University of Alberta Ph.D. (History) candidate David Marples on 17 October 1978.

Several reasons for the Soviets' lack of immediate success in the implementation of collectivization were presented during the seminar. The most evident, if not the most important, was the concerted opposition of OUN/UPA organization of Ukrainian Nationalists/Ukrainian (Insurgent Army) forces and their supporters amongst the populace. Under the direction of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and "liberal-populist" politics, a policy of "communal free enterprise" was promulgated. Calls were made to the peasantry to strike against the collective farms and state authorities and to take control of the land, since they, as toilers of the land and producers of value, were entitled to both the land and its products.

From the fall of 1942, UPA forces led an active campaign in sabotaging collective farms and reconstruction efforts. Along with their efforts at disrupting collectivization, OUN forces engaged in acts of expropriation and violence against the Soviet state as a whole. Collectivization thus became a key issue for the Soviets, since this opposition involved not merely "kulaks", but combatants from all sectors of society.

In the early forties, Soviet partisans fighting German occupa-

tion forces were recruited, along with Red Army troops, to form 'destruction units' aimed against OUN/UPA units. According to Mr. Marples, some thirty-one units numbering 3,370 men were used. By the mid-forties, the Communist Party under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, Kovalchuk, greatly increased propaganda in education and media to offset, in their words, "fascist, hostile activities of bourgeois nationalists". Furthermore, the party decided that their apparent lack of success was due to the lack of proper consciousness of the people — or in other words, the lack of western oblast party cadres.

By 1945, party cadres were greatly increasing in the Western Ukraine, as were collective land societies, groups created to encourage formation of collective farms. By the late forties, the campaign to recruit party cadres in the villages was being realized and the rate of collectivization greatly increased. By 1949, the tide towards collectivization was unstoppable, encouraged by repeated campaigns of promotion and deportation of objectors. The resistance of the OUN/UPA forces was negated at this time, as the Soviet Union signed treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia directed at smashing the remainder of the resistance forces. Thus, by the spring of 1950 collectivization in Western Ukraine was essentially completed.

In the discussion which followed the presentation, ideas were offered on several areas of question. It appeared that collectivization was most successful in the least developed regions of Western Ukraine (such as Trans-Carpathia), and conversely, opposition was strongest in developed areas (such as Stanislaviv (Ivano-Frankivsk), Lviv, etc.). The most probable explanation, other than concentration of OUN/UPA forces in urban and developed areas, was that in

areas least developed economically, collectivization was a means to superior production and, therefore, higher consumption. On the other hand, those regions of Western Ukraine which were highly developed had a fairly highly developed socio-economic level, so that collectivization and expropriation of goods for the Soviet state would probably result in a decrease in standards of living. Since the level of production would not decrease, one gets the impression that the cause of the resistance was not an aversion to collectivization of



David Marples

the means of production on the part of Western Ukrainians, but an objection to the new relations of production, which would see their labour and production serve not their needs but those of the new Soviet state.

The quality of Mr. Marples' presentation, and that of the ensuing discussion, is further evidence of the success of the CIUS to develop Ukrainian scholarship in the West.



• A Ukrainian wedding — the real thing, not the album — was recently held in the Western Canadian Capital of Edmonton, Alberta. The stalwart couple (it was a mixed gender affair) tied the traditional *rushnychok*, symbol of one's bondage in marriage, on the auspicious evening of Friday the 13th. Best wishes were extended by the Patriarch, who also said Mass for them in the Vatican, and by a delegation from the Fourth International. Guests partied until the early hours of the morning.

• At the gala Halloween masquerade sponsored by Edmonton's USC elements from the Ukrainian-Canadian Liberal caucus managed to appoint USC President Carter as costume judge in an effort that obviously dissipated the enthusiasm of the large crowd of young Progressive Conservatives for the Mad Flasher and the Masked Marauder. Carter singlehandedly appointed the National Unity Social Creditor the winner. A Four Bay slush fund and opiates in the punch were used to silence popular outrage.

• No one flew the coop at the Senator Paul Yuzyk roast in Ottawa on October 28. In fact, the bar closed earlier than the roasters' mouths. Unfortunately, there were few good jobs at the Honourable Senator — in public, at least (Ukrainians seem to be such a polite people).

• Yuri Shymko of Toronto was elected to the Commons during the recent by-elections. And already he is in trouble with some of his friends in the Ukrainian nationalist community. Shymko had stressed his "cosmopolitan outlook" and denied that he is a strong Ukrainian nationalist during a recent interview for a Polish newspaper. Obviously his sensible tactful statements (in a nding which is sizeably Polish) go beyond the political sensibilities of our most ardent patriots.

• The Edmonton Symphony Orchestra gave visiting conductor Volodymyr Kolesnyk less than a sunny Alberta welcome when he came to Edmonton recently to do a show in conjunction with both the symphony and the Oniro Choir. The "professionalism" of this renowned group (they accompanied Procol Harum on their "Live" album) got the best of them, and they were less than co-operative with the temperamental former Kiev State Theatre of Opera and Ballet conductor/artistic director (defected and now living in Toronto). They got it all together by show time, however, and the largely-Ukrainian audience was so impressed that it could not resist clapping between the movements of the symphonic number, in defiance of all musical tradition and decorum.



# Use the Media — Before it uses you

The following article was first presented at the SUSK workshop following the "Social Trends Among Ukrainian Canadians" Conference in Ottawa, September 17, 1978.

In presenting SUSK's past endeavors into media, I can summarize its thrust in this way: SUSK aimed for Ukrainian language programming on a *national* broadcast system, private (cable), and especially public (CBC), as a vehicle for tying our community together, and as a vehicle for presenting a dynamic and attractive working culture to a great number of people at a speed unparalleled by any other medium.

Toward achieving this objective, SUSK made both creative and political efforts, which will be assessed in this paper. The point of my presentation is that although SUSK media actions appear to have exhausted themselves, by no means have all channels been exhausted. The question is which channels do we gamble on exploring. But first, a bit about the past.

## SUSK Ventures into Creativity

SUSK's famous creative effort is known as Video-SUSK. This project, undertaken in 1972, was based on the idea that teams of Ukrainian students would travel, then tape and edit a mass of programmes to be aired on a seed network of individual cable companies, which they would organise as well. For this project, SUSK budgeted eighty thousand dollars; they received twenty-five thousand from Opportunities For Youth. Nevertheless, SUSK proceeded with the project and hired twelve full-time and sixteen part-time people, thereby spending seventeen thousand of their budget on salaries. Eight thousand dollars remained for actual project expenses.

Of the group assembled, only four were previously familiar with video-tape equipment. An orientation course was provided at the start of the project. It was mostly theoretical (the implications of media impact upon a community) and one afternoon was spent learning video-tape equipment. Following the orientation session, six students were to establish a centre for video-tape production in Winnipeg while others went into the field, in pairs, to create half-hour and one-hour programmes and to contact local cable stations. The SUSK project report listed four cameramen, four researchers, one editing technician and two assistants, and one producer—the rest were office staff. The pairs were supposed to operate as self-contained units: they would produce, film and edit their own programmes. A creatively democratic group (although administratively controlled from the centre) the pairs were only 'limited' by certain broad themes: customs and traditions; community structures; church architecture; interviews with artists—to name a few.

Immediately, the project encountered problems: there was a delay in funding (which SUSK could not control), and difficulties in getting access to equipment and facilities (which SUSK could have prevented). The resultant one-month delay meant that less material was taped and that the seed network of individual cable companies was not organised. Nevertheless, at the end of the two months during which Video-SUSK operated, fifty hours were taped from which the group anticipated "twenty-five hours of good quality presentable and airable material". The following year, two students were hired to edit the fifty hours of raw material, and another was sent across the country to establish contacts with cable companies and communities for airing the SUSK Video programmes. The editors found that of the fifty hours, only five hours of material was technically and creatively good enough to find its way into edited programmes. This final product has

never been aired on cable, and has received only minimal exposure in Toronto before a SUSK congress audience.

## Video-SUSK Assessment

Video-SUSK was a commendable and ambitious project which could have resulted in a budding concern for Ukrainian video programmes in the communities where the project ventured (which were all on the prairies). The most unfortunate aspect of the project (and possibly this may still be reversed) is that the final nine or ten edited programmes (comprising the above-mentioned five hours) have never been edited. As a result, the impact of the Video-SUSK project, in terms of developing Ukrainian media in Canada with access on cable, is non-existent.

It should be recognised that the SUSK Video project did create a substantial product - eighty-two raw tapes (fifty hours), which at least has some archival value. However, should SUSK consider organising a venture similar to the Video SUSK of 1972, we should

However there is a pitfall here to avoid: for community theories are valid only when based on knowledge and understanding of the particular community and this is not gained by parachuting in cameras for two weeks and leaving. All that should be expected in a first-time taping of communities is basic research and documentary work, which when amassed offers material for analytical programmes. For this, it's better to employ people indigenous to their communities rather than out-of-towners.

Another conceptual weakness was a misunderstanding of the nature of cable programming. In seeking a seed network on cable, which means bicycling programmes among cable companies in various cities on a regular basis, one has to keep in mind that cable operators are interested in local material or sufficiently general variety or cultural programming that would interest their audience. A programme about the local Winnipeg community will not interest an Edmonton cable company—which is what the Video-SUSK producer found to be true. Much of

SUSK concluded that as Canadian identity was definitely multicultural and that nothing in the Act proscribed the use in broadcasting of languages other than English and French. Lister Sinclair was unfounded in banning the Gaelic programme. SUSK and KYK and others intervened at the CRTC hearings to renew CBC's license in 1974, without results, and then brought the issue to the House of Commons Committee on Broadcasting, Film and Assistance to the Arts. After a series of ten hearings this Committee reported to the House that:

Evidence from CBC shows that there was nothing in government policy prohibiting the use of language other than English and French. It appeared that the so-called proscription of multilingual broadcasting was strictly an interpretation on the part of the CBC Board of Directors. Thus, it is not legislation that must be changed, but the interpretation of the Board, if it is desirable for third language broadcasting to take place on the CBC. (Fourth Report)

Although the committee did not provide a directive for multilingual programming, it recommended that a committee be formed from the CBC, CRTC, Secretary of State and the Minister of State on Multiculturalism - what is known as the Multilingual Broadcasting Study Group - to determine a formula for third language broadcasting in a way that would not diminish the status of the two official languages in Canada. This was tabled in January, 1974. To make a long story short, in 1976, the CBC instead of presenting a requested report on third language broadcasting operational costs, utilized the loophole that the CBC should not diminish from the two official languages. It reiterated its longstanding position that the CBC mandate is to provide an extension of the two official language broadcasting services to the country, and until then no consideration would be given to multilingual broadcasting. The CBC, at a cost of (deducted in 1973) 150 million dollars annually planned to ensure second language broadcasting service to any community with a population of over 500 anglophone or francophones. The target for completion is 1981 to 1983, but this has already been delayed and has effectively stalled the Broadcasting Group's search for a formula for third language broadcasting.

The position of the Multiculturalism Ministers has been varied. Munro, in 1976, urged the implementation of multilingual broadcasting in a regional context, where there is a demand, via CRTC legislation. Catik, however, feels that multilingual broadcasting is untimely, and would be appropriate only after a full implementation of the multiculturalism policy according to his plan. This position could be disputed since multilingual broadcasting and third language education in schools promotes cultural development and intergroup understanding, and thus hastens the implementation of the Multicultural Policy.

## Assessment of the CBC Action

In its day, the CBC Action had a definite impact: SUSK sparked discussions of the Ukrainian and Italian communities into adopting positions on this subject before the 1974 CRTC hearings and forced the CBC and government to consider publicly the question of multilingual broadcasting.

The CBC action, however, has not yet seen the fulfilment of its objectives. Multilingual broadcasting is not provided by the CBC in Canada. Multicultural broadcasting on CBC is represented still

only by the radio programme "Identities" and "Our Native Land" (which concerns itself with Native Indian issues). I spoke with the public relations office at CBC, which is more removed from the political sensitivities of these issues than the top echelons of the CBC, and was told that I was incorrect in inferring a responsibility for multilingual programming from CBC's mandate. As far as that person is informed, CBC had no such responsibility. So much for progress.

In view of the fact that the CBC will not interpret its mandate to provide multilingual broadcasting in the present time, I feel that the SUSK CBC Action should switch its focus away from the CBC Board of Directors and now begin lobbying for legislation to amend the Broadcasting Act. The Myth of Sisyphus may come to mind at this point, but I feel that a move to amend the Broadcasting Act may find success in its timeliness. Currently, discussions are underway to seek the enshrinement of multiculturalism in the proposed Constitutional Amendment Bill. As well there has been an articulated sentiment to see multiculturalism legislated. Multilingual broadcasting as well as third language education are part and parcel of multiculturalism, and should be considered in discussions as one package. I believe that this is the only channel remaining, because CBC has proved itself to be unresponsive.

There is one idea, which CBC may find more difficult to refute: the CBC presently broadcasts in languages other than English and French outside of Canada on Radio Canada International (RCI). This service is supported by our tax dollars. It's inexcusable that those who support multilingual broadcasting for citizens of the world can not enjoy the service themselves. It would be interesting if SUSK were to study the feasibility of expanding RCI to cover Canada, with the provision that well-budgeted appropriate programmes to Canadians of non-English, non-French background are created. SUSK should, however, bear in mind that in consideration of the seventy million dollar cutbacks in CBC for next year, the future of RCI is under some question in CBC.

If SUSK is interested in becoming involved in media, the CBC Action can only be one part of the plan, mainly because it will require more years of work, and I don't think it has the potential of becoming a mass-based action. In the meantime work is to be done in programming in the present-day.

## What Is To Be Done

First of all, I think it would be a mistake for SUSK to undertake a Video project similar to 1972. It's not necessary. The most expedient plan would be to promote among clubs, and outside of clubs, the information that conditions are very favourable for video production on local cable stations. Two years ago, the CRTC passed a regulation that cable companies were required to recycle ten per cent of their subscribers' revenues back into the community. This means that they were to "provide opportunities for expression by the various ethnic communities within their licensed area" including encouraging individuals and groups to present programme ideas, produce their own proposals with the help of the licensee's staff, provide facilities, staff and training, make equipment available, locate production origination facilities within their licensed area where they are easily accessible by such individuals and groups and defray expenses for materials and transportation.

This information has been available for two years, was printed in *Student*, and repeated at con-

(MEDIA continued on page 11)



quickly look at some of the problems in the organisation of the project and in its concept.

The fact that a group of knowledgeable amateurs was not assembled is not the problem, as training in video-tape equipment is fairly straightforward. Furthermore, SUSK was interested in providing an opportunity whereby untrained youth could gain access to equipment and have the opportunity for the full creative experience. It was hoped they would continue on their own initiative.

Here is the problem: the project should have organised a proper orientation to teach at least the fundamental skills of video-taping. Any group venturing into video should be aware that there are existent self-help resources as well as available consultants to be taped, and in the last two years, cable companies are required to generously assist community interest groups (but more on that later). Secondly, equipment studio and other facilities should be organised in advance of the project's "start" date so that expenses are controlled, administration doesn't end up in chaos, and time isn't wasted by the production staff. Thirdly, in many cases not enough time was spent within the various communities (from several days to two weeks) to have become sufficiently familiarized with them for documentary purposes and to win their support for the project's concept. There are a number of anecdotes about the resistance of various communities to the project, which I won't go into at this time.

This last point brings to light a conceptual weakness of the project, which I must admit is contentious depending on who one talks to. I don't want to generalise, but it appears that some in SUSK were operating under assumptions of a pre-conceived community theory, and hoped for an appropriate reflection of this in the material taped. In other words, to a certain extent an analytical study of a given community was desired. In the end the production staff had free-reign, mainly because of the absence of consistent program planning.

what Video-SUSK taped tell into the category of being inappropriate for bicycling.

The few completed and edited programmes are as follows:

Velichkowsky interview  
Mundare is Dying  
Gardenton (Bukhovinian) wedding  
Saskatoon Jamboree (organised by Semotuk filmmakers)  
Semotuk Speaks about CBC  
A short of Winnipeg youth in the country  
45' of Ukrainian Caravan in Toronto

"Mundare is Dying" and the "Gardenton Wedding" are the best, and if found in good condition, could be aired on cable. I think anywhere in Canada. The Velichkowsky interview is valuable for archival purposes, and as documentary material within a more highly produced programme. This tape, as well, could be aired in any city. The rest is potentially airable on appropriate local cable stations (except Semotuk on CBC, which is not limited locally), and I was told, requires various technical improvements which are possible in the editing process. If the tapes are in good condition, SUSK might try to have some of the Video-SUSK programmes aired on cable. This would finally realise the dream of Video-SUSK.

## The CBC Action

SUSK's main political effort with the objective of Ukrainian programming on a national broadcasting system is familiar to all as the CBC Action.

The issue of multilingual broadcasting arose in 1973 when a Gaelic programme on the Sydney, Nova Scotia CBC station was banned by Lister Sinclair, then Executive Vice-President of the CBC English Service Division. SUSK studied the Broadcasting Act which stated sweepingly that the CBC "should enrich and strengthen the cultural political and economic fabric of Canada...be in English and French...and contribute to the development of national identity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity".



# Rezoliutsii 19-ho Kongresu SUSK

## 1. Фінанси

Оскільки обширна різноманітність бухгалтерських процедур в минулому виконувалася скриньками СУСКу і Оскільки більшість однамисливців та постійних в облікових справах є біжантами, то

Нехай буде рішення, що до наступного Конгресу СУСК скриньки постаріється виробити вказівки та дати поради (рекомендації) для наступних скриньок СУСКу й представити їх на наступному Конгресі СУСК.

## 2. Людські Права

Оскільки кілька місяців тому провідні члени опірному руху в Радянському Союзі були засуджені в приреченні до довгого періоду ув'язнення та заслання судом, який відкриває суперечливі численним договорам людських прав, підписаних Радянським урядом і

Оскільки постачати українсько-канадських студентів джерелом інформації, як і дати їм можливість на форумі висловити ці тези, є необхідним і

Оскільки Конгрес переконаний, що це справа є першорядної ваги, то

Нехай буде рішення, що «Студент» продовжуватиме давати завіт про порушення людських прав в Радянському Союзі, а особливо в Радянській Україні.

## 3. Комітет Комунікаційних Засобів

Оскільки радіо та телебачення передають неточні і/або упереджені і/або неповні дані про події в Радянському Союзі та Східній Європі, особливо щодо ситуації в Україні та інших національних групах (в СРСР), то

Нехай буде рішення, що СУСК розвідає про можливість по-лучитися чи сприяти в формуванні комітету комунікаційних засобів, подібного до Media Action Committee, створеного недавно в Сполучених Штатах.



## 4. Асоціація Вільних Професіоналів

Оскільки під час недавнього минулих місяців значна інформація про розвиток руху справляється професійки в СРСР стала доступною і

Оскільки це представляє собою значне розширення основних сфери дій в Радянському Союзі, то

Нехай буде рішення, що цей Конгрес вносить похвалу провідникам Асоціації Вільних Професіоналів в Союзі Радянських Соціалістичних Республік за їхню сміливість та ініціативу і одночасно закликає Радянську владу за переслідування членів вище згаданої Асоціації.

## 5. Захисна Праця

Оскільки в Німечці, Едмонтоні, Торонті та Монреалі існують організації ризи на захист українських і/або радянських політичних і

Оскільки СУСК за своєю традицією відіграв активну роль в захисті українських, радянських та східно-європейських дисидентів.

Нехай буде рішення, що заступник голови, відповідальний за людські права, порадить місцевим клубам СУСК в цих чотирьох (4) центрах, а також, де тільки можливо, вибрати зв'язкового референта, який координуватиме зусилля на захисту праці всіх клубів разом з установленими Комітетами Захисту.

## 6. Захист Радянських Політичних В'язнів

Оскільки СУСК стверджує важливість конкретного захисту дисидентів, демократичних та людських прав і Оскільки СУСК твердо підтримує ініціативу та участь місцевих клубів в захисті праці і

Оскільки поточна хвиля утисків у Радянському Союзі намагає (примусжує) створення обширної калашної захисту на захід.

Нехай буде рішення, що заступник голови, відповідальний за людські права, порадить клубам скоординувати свої зусилля з такими установленими організаціями (втісненими в захисту праці), як Комітет на Захист Радянських Політичних В'язнів та Міжнародна Амністія, а також дати вступати в будівництво кампанії на захист Асоціації Вільних Професіоналів в Союзі Радянських Соціалістичних Республік та Леву Лук'яненку.

## 7. «Студент»

Оскільки постійний розвиток та успіх «Студента» залежить від безперерпності повсякденної участі складових клубів СУСК в його виданні і

Оскільки однією з основних функцій «Студента» — це виступати в розі форуму для обміну думкою та розвитку ідей, які є важливими й зацікавленнями для українсько-канадського студентського тіла та всієї громади.

Нехай буде рішення, що обласні кореспонденти рідних діяльностей будуть призначені Конгресом, а також, що ці обласні кореспонденти заохочуватимуть місцеві українські студентські клуби брати більшу участь в виданні «Студента», особливо в збірці статей і у вербуванні та розповсюдженні реклами в своїх діяльностях.

Нехай буде рішення, що редакційний комітет «Студента», установивши тісний зв'язок з обласними кореспондентами і буде утримувати його, щоб давати провід для рідних діяльностей.

## 8. Канадський Інститут Українських Студій

Оскільки Канадський Інститут Українських Студій виконує важку роль в координуванні українських та українсько-канадських студій у Канаді, а також активно висуває розвиток українсько-англійських двоюмошних освітніх програм в ролі провідних.

Нехай буде рішення, що СУСК підтримуватиме працю Канадського Інституту Українських Студій та постачатиме клуби і члени клубу інформацією про діяльність Інституту.

## 9. Багатокультурність і Канадська Конституція

Оскільки недавню федеральний уряд Канади зробив помітні конкретні кроки до перепису канадської конституції і

Оскільки конституція була-якої держави повинна підтримувати ідеї, вірування та реальності суспільства тієї держави.

Оскільки недавні пропозиції, зроблені урядом відносно конституції, зовсім не задовольняють багатокультурність і Оскільки виключення з канадської конституції суспільних, лінгвістичних та культурних прав груп, інших, ніж англо-мовних та франко-мовних громадян, очевидно відносно вплине на повний розвиток поступового багатокультурного канадського суспільства.

Нехай буде рішення, що СУСК підтримає, що чітке визнання багатокультурності в передмові нашої канадської конституції являється і правом, і необхідністю для інших культурних груп Канади, і

Що СУСК співпрацюватиме з групами, втісненими в справу конституції (я такими групами, як Конституційний Комітет в Торонті), і, що СУСК, як частину цієї діяльності, підготує свою власну позицію щодо конституційного питання.

## 10. Англо-Українська Освіта (Двоюмовність)

Оскільки двоюмова освіта являється основною справою в усвідомленні справжньої різноманітності культур в Канаді (тобто, багатокультурності) і

Оскільки СУСК свідомий, що при теперішньому стані двоюмовної освіти в Канаді, треба подолати наступні перешкоди, яких багато української канадської громади мають здійснити:

1. недостатня відповідність педагогічних програм для вчителів;
2. недостатня фоніти та запасів для програмового розвитку;
3. факт, що лише батьки й студенти відповідають за організування програм, підшукування вчителів і перекознування приватних освітніх, що також програма повинна існувати;
4. недостатня громадських працівників, які змогли б координувати працю батьків, учителів і студентів для розвитку двоюмовного навчання.

Нехай буде рішення, що СУСК зробить внесок до успіху двоюмовної освіти

1. повідомляючи студентські клуби про те, що собою представляють домовини програм,
2. закликаючи членів студентських клубів активно включатися в вивчення таких програм, постачаючи людей записаними матеріалами з таких існуючих джерел, як Канадський Інститут Українських Студій та Українські Двоюмовні Асоціації; окреслюючи стратегії для організації та розвитку цих програм і, оголошуючи важливість таких діяльностей в «Студенті».

Далі, такі зусилля повинні зосереджуватися на першому місці в таких центрах, де важливі невідмітні умови для розвитку і поширення двоюмовних програм вже існують, які відіграють потребу громад, як в Едмонтоні, Саскатуні, Вінніпезі та Торонті.

## ДОДАТКОВІ ПОРАДИ

1. Свої зусилля щодо цієї справу СУСК повинен зосереджувати серед усього активних людей в українській канадській громаді.
2. СУСК повинен розвідати про кожну можливість для співпраці з іншими громадами, які так само старяться пропоставити освітню систему програмами, які відіграють важливу роль в їхній потребі.

## 11. Світовий Конгрес Вільних Українців

Оскільки Третій Світовий Конгрес Вільних Українців (СКВУ) відбудеться в липові 1978 року в Нью-Йорку і Оскільки Світовий Конгрес Вільних Українців — це координуюче тіло організованого українського громадського життя на заході,

Отже, нехай буде рішення, що цей 19-тий Конгрес Союзу Українського Студентства Канади приймає такі погляди свого відношення до СКВУ, в саме, СУСК визнає:

1. Що Світовий Конгрес Вільних Українців складається з краєвих організацій (напр. Комітет Українців Канади та Український Конгресовий Комітет Америки в США), й отже, його цілі можуть мати вплив тільки до тієї міри, до якої це допускає складові організації.
2. Що здорове світове тіло може бути зведено тільки на демократичних краєвих організаціях організації у своїх складових країнах.
3. що поки краєві організації організації у СКВУ не зробили значну зміну, особливо у вільних, загальних, твемних і «одна особа» — один голос» виборів свого повноваження, доти Світовий Конгрес Вільних Українців залишиться значно слабким.

4. що СУСК зголошує своє бажання працювати на благо демократизації українського громадського життя і закликає делегатів СКВУ схвалити таку саму точку зору.

## 12. Клубек

Оскільки 18-тий Конгрес СУСК потвердив свою підтримку в справі права Клубеку на самозначення, будучи обраним про утіски Клубеку в Канаді і

Оскільки з тих пір боротьба проти права провадитися втечею промисловості з Клубеку, новими федеральними конституційними пропозиціями, а особливо поширенням неспокон та наглядом самостійників Клубеку, члени професійки та члени інших народних рухів політики (РСМР) і. Оскільки боротьба за самозначення Клубеку — це не перспектива на майбутнє, але відбувається на фоні цих федеральних та монополіо-корпоративних вистав і. Оскільки обговорення 18-го Конгресу СУСК повинні бути вказівкою в діяльності українських канадських студентів,

Нехай буде рішення, що 19-ий Конгрес СУСК закликає Домініану Екзекутиву СУСК та клуби українського студентства до вислову солідарності з Лівою Прав Людини та з усіма групами-учасниками демонстрації «Операція Визволення 16 жовтня» на згадку окупації Клубеку війсьською армією 1970 року, а також протестувати проти постійних вторгнень поліції (РСМР) в громадські та демократичні вправа.

## 13. Фонд СУС-у

Нехай буде прийнято що в майбутньому тільки ті фонди (фонди відправлені до СУСК від складових організацій) будуть рахуватися як «анекси», які так само призначені під час відправлення згаданих фондів.

## 14. Центральна Екзекутива Союзу Українського Студентства

Оскільки СУСК — це студентська організація різних ідеологій, яка посвятила себе демократичному та передовому розвитку української канадської громади і

Оскільки підтримувати ЦеСУС, як центральне координуюче тіло та міжнародні представники українських студентів поза межами України — це одна з цілей СУСК і. Оскільки Обласний Конгрес ЦеСУС, що відбувся в Торонті в серпні 1977 року був організований частково, щоб знайти дорогу до примирення українських студентських організацій поза Радянським блоком і.

Оскільки кожен суспільство розвивається й росте морально та розумово через нововведення своєї мови і.

Оскільки СУСК вірить, що всі студентські організації повинні бути вільними від всіх прямих та непрямих впливів якої-небудь політичної партії; оскільки в такому випадку окрема політична партія несебоду розвиває монополію на моральний, суспільний та політичний розвиток організації і. Оскільки діяльність поточної ексекютиви ЦеСУС має мало доречності до поточних діяльностей СУСК від зв'язку з діяльностями СУСК в усіх ділянках людських прав, громадського розвитку та багатокультурності і.

Оскільки поточна ексекутива ЦеСУС не виробила тісних та гармонійних відносин між українськими студентськими об'єднаннями та федерациями в країнах неарадянського блоку і.

Оскільки СУСК дотримується незалежності з українськими студентськими організаціями поза межами Канади і



Оскільки є докази, що Обласний Конгрес ЦеСУС у Торонті віддає непридатному впливові однієї окремої української політичної партії через плату подорожних витрат та рестрації делегатів ТСУС та СТУА і.

Оскільки така дія робить схильніше до відносно незалежного процесу вирішування в студентських організаціях і. Оскільки нова ексекутива ЦеСУС не зробила відкритих та відвертих спроб в примиренні з СУСК так, як це було явлено з зявля голови ЦеСУС в Едмонтоні в квітні 1978 року і.

Оскільки критична позиція СУСК у відношенні з усіма не-демократичними установами задокументована і.

Оскільки ЦеСУС повинен відігравати погляд своїх складових членів і.

Оскільки 18-тий Конгрес СУСК, що відбувся в серпні 1977 року у Ванкувері, вирішив припинити активну участь СУСК у ЦеСУС через відомі очевидні нерегулярності в поведінці Обласного Конгресу ЦеСУС.

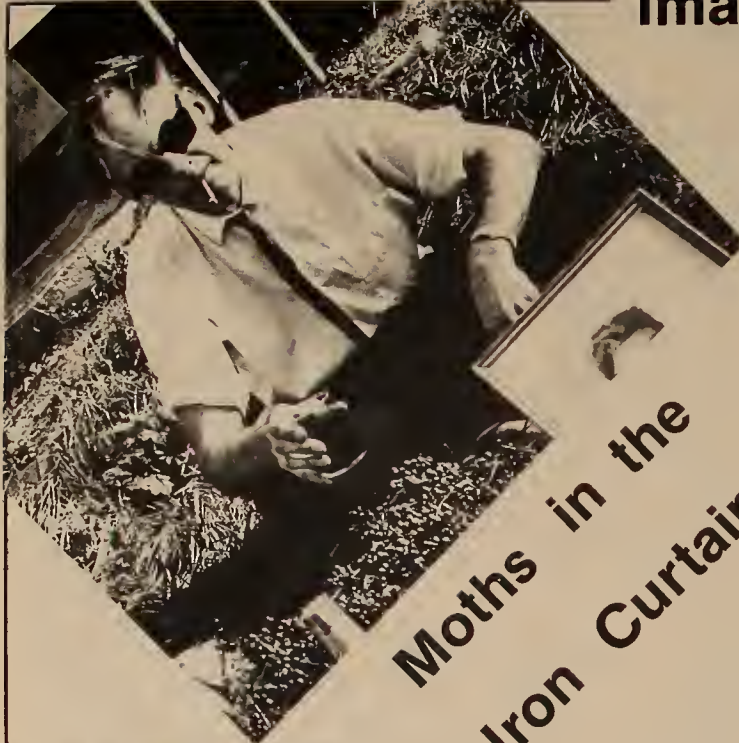
Нехай буде рішення, що СУС відіграє свою діяльність з ЦеСУС поки новий Конгрес ЦеСУС не відбудеться з повним обміркуванням про моральні та легальні відповідальності демократичного студентського тіла.

(RESOLIUTSII continued on page 10)



# Images of Ukraine:

## Part Two



### Moths in the Iron Curtain

#### ON GETTING DRUNK IN KIEV

My friends last night I was borraccho  
which means drunk in any language  
including the Scandinavian  
I interrupted your friendship speeches  
in a loud voice spoke of bad Canadian poets  
published in Russia like Joe Wallace and Wilson Macdonald  
(I don't apologize—they're really bad)  
but I was drunk the timing was wrong  
your speeches were right my false self is my true self  
my sudden friend Mark Pinchevsky do not pity  
or care that I'm slovenly awkward I certainly am  
thinking I hear that loud-voiced self again  
interrupting the quiet self tirelessly explicating  
theories neither knows anything about  
And that walk thru the park high over Kiev  
my foot slipping splayed steps tree-bumping  
my troika third self observing you did you observe this?  
The speeches in Tashkent Moscow and Kiev were right  
the high-sounding rhetorical shit-seeming pompous platitudinous speeches  
were right those reversible clichés of turncoat facsimile intentions  
their false self is your true self and intently our trivial important  
friendship persists fragile and trembling precisely persists

O marvellous Viking-founded Dneiperish Kiev  
your eternal friendship for Canada is tenfold reciprocated  
from the heart your great love for our great writers

is felt to the depths of our collective thumping-in-unison hearts  
—all I can say uh you unnerstan well ah see what I mean?  
—for chrissake let's have a drink

#### AL PURDY

Alfred Purdy was born in Wooler, Ontario in 1918, a descendant of United Empire Loyalists. He has lived in many parts of Canada, and has worked at a variety of jobs. His name is usually associated with the southeastern Ontario town of Ameliasburg, the geographical heart of much of his poetry and the place he now calls home.

Purdy's first book of poetry appeared in 1944, his second eleven years later. Four more books came out by 1963 — private-press collections and chapbooks, culminating in *Poems for All the Annettes*. Since that time, a number of other books — including *The Cariboo Horses*, *Wild Grape Wine*, *North of Summer* and *Sex & Death* — have established him as one of Canada's leading poets. In recent years he has also become known as the editor of *Storm Warning*, anthologies introducing new Canadian poets to the reading public. He was honoured with the President's Medal in 1964, and the Governor General's Award in 1966.

The poems reproduced here are from a selection he calls *Moths in the Iron Curtain*, to be published shortly by Paget Press. They are written in an inimitable style that blends Purdy the poet with Purdy the personality, a potent combination with a uniquely Canadian flavour. Anyone who has met Purdy is sure to remember him, though the memory might be somewhat blurred by a haze of alcohol. It is easy to imagine him — a lean, loud-talking, cigar-chomping man — confronting the Soviet bureaucracy head-on, and matching his literary hosts drink for drink. I'm sure they remember him very well...

#### MONASTERY OF THE CAVES

Which should I remember?  
— 11th century monks in deep caves  
mummified to non-edible brown  
blobs in glass cases  
or the dog with a crushed paw  
outside on the sunlit courtyard?  
Not a choice between men and animals  
the darkness seekers the non-lcarians  
or one poor beast waiting to be kicked  
because he can't run away fast enough  
— nothing is quite that simple

Great men unburied here  
from shadowy kingdoms  
of long-ago Muscovy  
O Redeemer of Berestovo  
& Yuri Dolgoruky  
founder of ancient Moscow  
you Anthony & you Theodosius  
co-founders of this underground rat-trap  
& you Nestor the Chronicler  
entombed in the 11th and 12th centuries  
— wouldn't you trade all your greatness  
your hope and heavenly ambitions  
for a crushed foot in bright sunlight  
among the tourists  
and one moment of life  
before you escape back into darkness

#### AT BABIY YAR

A Ukrainian place name  
with no specific meaning  
during World War 2  
a suburban garbage dump  
or 'nuisance ground'  
but now several acres  
in the heart of Kiev  
—the name has for me  
the off-rhyme of  
'Baby Footgear'  
with Babiyy Yar  
Long after the hundred  
thousand Jewish and  
other bodies of women  
children and very old men  
died here with fillings  
extracted from teeth  
valuables stolen  
by the Germans  
a Russian drill sergeant  
trained his men here  
and some of them found  
among the deep trenches  
in thick grass among  
fading oak and poplar  
leaves a few mismated  
babies' shoes

We walk onto shaven  
smooth grass and valleys  
scooped out with long mounds  
where bodies were laid  
in layers with overcoats  
of earth and later burned  
to destroy the evidence  
Me with the feeling  
there is something  
under my skin that  
I have not understood  
some thing that remains  
incomprehensible to me  
about all this senseless  
murder of being human  
—and it occurs to me  
those uncovered babies'  
shoes found by  
the drill sergeant's men  
these must be thought of  
as a first aid  
to my own understanding  
some small thing connecting  
with what is enormous  
not murder only  
but a black cloud  
in the human brain  
that makes each of us  
casual visitors conscious  
of what we actually are  
—here that large thing  
has this small handle  
of babies' shoes  
at Babiyy Yar  
with no feet inside them  
running away from here  
dead babies of course  
but all of us  
are their descendants





# Briefs on the USSR and Eastern Europe

(From Information Bulletin, published by the Committee in Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, Edmonton)

## Tatars Sign Mass Petition

Several thousand Crimean Tatars living in exile in Soviet Central Asia signed a petition addressed to Brezhnev demanding to be allowed to return to Crimea.

In 1944 Stalin ordered 100,000 Tatars deported from Crimea because they had allegedly 'collaborated' with the Nazis. In 1967 the Soviet government formally admitted that the charges were false, but has not allowed Tatars to return to their homeland.

The petition signed by 5,000 Tatars also demanded an end to the harassment and imprisonment of members of their community. (Rouge, August 24, 1978)

## Snehiriov Withdraws Recantation

Heli Snehiriov, a Ukrainian political prisoner has withdrawn the recantation he allegedly signed on April 1, 1978. Snehiriov's alleged recantation has been an object of controversy for the past five months. It was published in Soviet Ukrainian newspapers under the title 'I am Ashamed and Condemn My Past'. Among other things the letter denounced Petro Grigorenko and Viktor Nekrasov. Regarding western organizations conducting 'anti-Soviet' activities, the recantation stated, 'my path is not with you. I categorically insist that you stop taking advantage of my name and my writings for anti-Soviet purposes. These I renounce forever.' Soviet authorities had extorted Snehiriov's signature when he was taken to hospital for an operation. Snehiriov is known to be in extremely poor health. (Svoboda, September 10, 1978)

## Arrests in Czechoslovakia

On August 24, 1978 the statue of Klement Gottwald was blown-up by a small explosive. Gottwald ruled Czechoslovakia until 1953. His statue stood in Pribam, a mining community 70 km south-west of Prague.

On September 4, 1978 authorities announced that they had arrested some individuals in connection with the incident. The identity of those arrested has not been released.

(Rouge, September 5, 1978)

## Soviet Workers in 'Psykushka'

Vladimir Klebanov, a founder of the unofficial Trade Union Association was recently transferred from the Donetsk psychiatric hospital to one in Dnipropetrovsk (Ukraine). He is now in the same hospital in which Leonid Plyushch was held.

Other members of the 'Association' have also been incarcerated in psychiatric asylums. N. Nikolaev is being held in hospital number 1 in Moscow. The doctor in charge of his case told Nikolaev's family that in view of the 'anti-Soviet content of his letters' keeping him in a psychiatric asylum was 'a humanitarian measure.' G. Ivankov, another member of the 'Association' was transferred on July 4th to a hospital in Orel after he was declared 'insane' by Dr. Kimovich of the Serbsky Institute in Moscow. (Rouge, October 19, 1978)

## Bulgarian Dissent Increasing

In March 1978, 14 Bulgarian intellectuals published the 'Declaration 78' which had the following programme: the right of freedom of movement, the establishment of a better relationship between prices and wages and an increase in state benefits, the creation of independent trade unions, the abolition of social privilege, and the publication of the declaration in all the daily newspapers.

Bulgarian is perhaps the least familiar of all East European countries. Its dissident movement has received little attention in the West. That movement however is gaining weight in Bulgaria. According to an Amnesty International report (1977) Bulgaria has a higher number of political prisoners per head of the population than any other East European country other than the USSR.

For more information about Bulgarian dissent write to: Collectif de Soutien a la lutte du peuple Bulgare, B.P. 11, 92190 Meudon, France.

## Soviet Embassy in Paris Refuses to See French Trade Unions

A delegation from the socialist led CFTD trade union was refused a meeting with Soviet embassy officials. The delegation wanted to present officials a declaration protesting the arrest and incarceration of Podrabinek. Podrabinek is a Soviet dissident who protested psychiatric repression in the USSR. (Rouge, August 19-20, 1978)

## Soviet Exiled Dissidents Appeal to Communists, Socialists, Trade Unionists in the West

An appeal signed by Liudmila Alekseyeva, Petro Grigorenko, Valentin Turchin, Vadim Belotserkovski, Anatoli Levitin-Drasnov, Kronid Liubarsky, Borys Vail, Leonid Plyushch and Borys Sharagin was sent to the western press, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Western Europe, to the Socialist International, the leaders of trade unions and to others.

In view of the impending change of the top leadership in the Soviet Union the former dissidents appeal to supporters of democratic socialism to exert their influence on the direction of change in the political life of the Soviet Union and countries of the Soviet bloc. They maintain that left-wing circles in the West have an important influence on the consciousness of the majority of people in the USSR — including many Party members. By protesting against the systematic violation of human rights in the USSR and Eastern Europe, by supporting those struggling for human rights in those countries, and by putting forward new constructive ideas for democratic socialism, the left in the West increases the chances for a change in the direction of democratization in the USSR.

The ex-dissidents also call for a total boycott of the Soviet Union with the exception of the supply of foodstuffs, massive campaigns to protest political repression in the USSR and Eastern Europe and to put pressure on governments to take diplomatic and political measures in answer to Soviet disregard for international agreements ratified by the Soviet government. Those who signed the appeal do not ask for a change in the social order of the USSR, rather they stress the need for the democratization of the country. By suppressing elementary human rights of their citizens and of the working class, the governments of Eastern Europe and the USSR have challenged the international socialist movement. The socialist movement, according to the former dissidents, must use every means possible to change conditions in the socialist camp. (Ukrainske Slovo, October 1, 1978)

## Charter 77 Demands Total Amnesty For Political Prisoners

Dr. Ladislav Hejzlik and Marta Kubisova, spokespeople for the Charter 77 group have called on Gustav Husak, the head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to proclaim a general amnesty on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak republic.

(Rouge, October 23, 1978)

## News From Ukraine

\*On April 30, 1978, Petro Sichka, a 52 year old former officer of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (released from prison in 1957) and his 22 year old son Vasyi, joined the Kiev Helsinki Monitoring group.

\*Vyacheslav Chornovil is now serving his sentence in exile in Chapandi, in the Yakut ASSR.

\*Iryna Stasiw-Kalynets, who is now in exile, is working as a milk-maid on a collective farm in Udino-Poseye in the Cherkaska oblast. \*On March 10, 1978, Ukrainian artist Rostyslav Paletsky was murdered under suspicious circumstances. Living in Odessa oblast, he was preparing to submit a petition demanding the right to emigrate. \*Ukrainian political prisoner Oleksa Tykhii, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group began a hunger strike in July 1978 in support of his demand that his case be reviewed.

# Western Labour Representatives inconsistent

Bohdan Somchynsky

In a series of significant actions, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) has recently undertaken the defense of repressed Soviet trade unionists and dissidents.

On February 1, 1978, Vladimir Klebanov, the delegated representative of the Association of Free Trade Union Workers in the USSR (AFTUW)\* sent an appeal via Amnesty International to the International Labour Organization (ILO). However, the appeal was deemed irresolvable on technical grounds, since it came from Amnesty International and not from a labour organization. The CLC, however, felt that there was enough evidence to warrant serious investigation. One of the first acts of the new CLC President, Dennis McDermott, was to instruct the CLC representatives to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (CFTU) to support the idea of an ICFTU complaint to the ILO on behalf of Klebanov and the AFTUW. The ILO will be considering the matter later this month.

At the same time, the CLC sent a telegram in July to W. Shabayev, President of the official All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, asking that body to apply pressure on the Soviet government to grant Anatoli Shcharansky and Alexander Ginzburg permission to emigrate to the countries of their choice. After both dissidents were being convicted, the CLC registered its protest by cancelling its exchange program with the Soviet labour organization.

The Soviet Union's obstinate insistence on defending its repression of human and trade union rights has led them at times into

forming alliances with various fascist governments. For example, when the CLC in the summer of 1977 fought at the ILO conference for the adoption of a report on the application of standards in the field of trade union rights, their efforts were blocked by several governments, in particular those of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Argentina, Chile and the Arab countries. Considering the Soviet Union's loud denunciations of Pinochet's military regime, one wonders if the Soviet regime really believes that its 'opporitinal "progressiveness" is fooling anyone.

Unfortunately, it still does. In August of this year, a four man delegation, led by George Johnston, president of the British Columbia Federation of Labour, travelled to Odessa (despite the CLC's cancellation of its Soviet exchange program). Ignoring the fact that the Soviet state-run trade unions are used as a tool of political and social control, the delegation reported that it was impressed with the role trade unions play in the USSR. At the same time, the Trades Union Congress in England defeated a resolution sponsored by the electrician's union defending the Klebanov group. A high-ranking member of the Soviet labour organization was imported for the occasion. It appears that the delegates were persuaded to ignore the fact that a Eurocommunist-led trade union, the CGT of France, had condemned the Soviet regime's repression of the dissident worker's organization.

The obvious task of all those who defend social justice is now to confront our labour unions on their stand of what constitutes real democratic and trade union rights and to expose the Soviets' portrayal of its kowtowing state-run trade unions for what it is — a barefaced lie.

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# The Politics of Otherness

George Melnyk

George Melnyk is the publisher of the *NeWest Review*, a monthly journal focussing on culture and current events in Western Canada, where this article originally appeared as the October editorial. Born in Germany and raised in Winnipeg, Manitoba, he received his M.A. in history from the University of Chicago and an M.A. in philosophy from the University of Toronto. He has written extensively on Western Canadian culture and currently lives in Edmonton.

"The term 'ethnic' is one of the vaguest known to sociology."  
— Pareto

The Canadian Plains Research Centre at the University of Regina has published a collection of scholarly essays on ethnicity *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education* ed. by Martin L. Kovacs, which provides some striking information on the ethnic question in Canada.

Basically, ethnicity is an awareness of otherness. In the Canadian context, it has two seemingly contradictory roots. The first is a consciousness created from outside ethnicity by those who consider themselves non-ethnic and who need "the other" to support their sense of superiority and exclusiveness. For them the other is not only different but also inferior. The second consciousness comes from within ethnicity and is a demand by ethnics for otherness in order to preserve dignity. While the first root is a consciousness that creates a hierarchy of human identity, the second is a struggle for equality.

Historically, the first consciousness is an outgrowth of European imperialism. Therefore, a part of ethnicity's cultural pedigree is that imperialism's intellectual baggage, which includes such terms as "race", "primitive", "native" and "savage". The second consciousness is an outgrowth of European nationalism where ethnology was a tool of national self-determination. These two interconnected yet opposing streams of meaning clashed in the West with the arrival of the first non-English speaking immigrants. That duality has continued to characterize ethnicity and has generated its own dialectical politics, the politics of otherness.

At the beginning of the first essay in the book "The Nature of Indian Claims" by Lloyd Barber, the ominous word "grievance" appears. It immediately associates ethnicity with alienation and protest, discrimination, resentment, racism and minority oppression. The fact that the most vilified element in Canadian society — the native people — should be labelled "ethnic" is indicative of the place of ethnicity in our society. It is a place of inferiority.

When the Indian becomes ethnic, ethnicity itself is challenged. The battle between its old imperialist and nationalist roots flares up and it is forced to re-examine itself. Why? Because the meaning of ethnicity is recharged with all the connotations developed by imperialist consciousness, connotations of tribalism, of racial and cultural inferiority and also with opposing nationalistic connotations of self-determination and equality.

The re-examination of ethnicity starts at the beginning of its own dialectical process. It starts with the thesis of the dominant society that it has the power to alienate, to determine who is the stranger, the outsider because this is its land. Under this attitude, ethnicity becomes a social category made to reinforce non-ethnic superiority. The inferiority of ethnicity generates its antithesis. The ethnic either flees ethnicity to hide in the dominant society or he embraces ethnicity as a final refuge. In either case, there is a process of rejection, of negation, of non-acceptance of the dominant thesis.

The one who escapes ethnicity into assimilation thinks he has negated the dominant society's definition of ethnicity by denying it exists for him. But in the process of assimilation he is as being forced to deny himself and adopt the ruling identity, — significant part of which is its view of ethnicity. This means he must relate to ethnics the way it does. He must treat a part of himself as inferior. The ethnic who tries to escape ethnicity has simply adopted one side of its duality — the imperialist tradition. He has only reinforced the inferiority of the other.

The one who embraces ethnicity also thinks he has negated the dominant society's definition of ethnicity by denying it exists for him. He creates another definition of ethnicity as nationality by burying himself in that other nationality's linguistic and cultural preservation. But the nationality he has discovered is not really a nationality at all but its truncated form — ethnicity. Because "ethnicity and ethnic groups are viewed as particularistic but transient phenomena in a process of development towards a universal form of organization — the nation-state" ("Ethnics and Non-Ethnics" by Joseph R. Manynon) ethnicity can not be a true nationality.

The failure of ethnicity to be a real nationality is evident in the typical hyphenated identities it creates such as "French-Canadian" and "Ukrainian-Canadian." This duality disintegrates into pseudo-nationality because invariably one side or other of the hyphen dominates. It cannot stand up to the test of history. When John R. Malley writes about the "incompatibility between the universalizing forces of modernity and the distinctive norms of minority ethnic groups" he is reiterating the failure of hyphenated identity.

Hyphenated identity effects ethnicity in two ways. First, its incompleteness as an identity adds to ethnicity's inferior status. Secondly, it leaves the imperialist side of ethnicity unchallenged. The hyphenated Canadian accepts the dominant definition of Canadian society. He accepts the fact that ethnicity is only a minority force.

This is evident in the political concepts generated by Canadian ethnics, primarily "multiculturalism" and "the third force." The official definition of Canada as a bilingual and bicultural country composed of two founding races makes a sham of multiculturalism as a fundamental concept of national identity. Multiculturalism has been the preserve of ministers of culture, tourism and recreation plus the ubiquitous secretary of state. The fact that the ethnics try to be number three is indicative of the low status of multiculturalism. Canada has never been a society in which all traditions have equal power and influence. It has never been the kind of multinational society that ethnicity must strive for.

Since neither assimilation nor retrenchment has been able to effectively negate the dominant view of ethnicity, how does ethnicity overcome its legacy of inferiority and alienation and incompleteness. It can only do so when it resolves the dialectic between its imperialist and nationalist roots (its external and internal definitions) by creating a true synthesis that moves the dialectic beyond its present impasse. It does so by taking control of the dialectical process. By taking charge of its own destiny, ethnicity becomes self-determining. It stops being an unfruitful reaction.

It can only take control of the process by becoming the opposite of what it presently is. Therefore, the task of ethnicity is to revolutionize itself, to destroy itself once and for all as a consciousness of otherness. The task of the ethnic is to stop being the other. In destroying its present self, it gives birth to a new self which is no longer inferior or particularistic. It is a universal self, an identity for everyone. Rather than be the voice of oppressed minorities, ethnicity must become the voice of the majority. Rather than be a secondary idea supporting the status quo it must become the prime concept behind social change. It must stop being a force for preservation and become a force for liberation. The present burden of otherness will disappear only when the ethnic finally comes to feel at home in this land and he can only do that when ethnicity becomes an identity for all.

Zenon Pohorecky in his essay "The Changing Role of Ethnocultural Organizations in Saskatchewan" provides statistics that indicate how difficult a task that is. "Only 11% of all ethnic cultural organizations in Saskatchewan are devoted to the activities of more than one unrelated ethnic group" he states, adding that the "British have less than 3% of ethnocultural organizations while Ukrainians who make up 9% of the population have 36%..." For the dominant society to accept ethnicity as its own identity and for ethnics to identify with each other and the dominant society requires a commitment to a new identity that goes beyond what is. Ethnicity has such a model.

In the West we have the indigenous precedent of the Metis to guide the struggle of ethnicity to create a new society. The Metis have given the West its first and only valid metaphor for a truly multicultural, multicultural society. That vision was destroyed by imperialism and its colonialist designs on the West. The Metis vision was the promise of a new land built on self-determination and a new identity based on a true synthesis of peoples. This indigenous definition holds much in common with the aspirations of a new ethnicity to end hyphenation and provide completeness.

The historic task of ethnicity is to reject the legacy of Sifton and embrace the promise of Riel.

## Formulator

(continued from page 5)

ran into financial obstacles and did not get underway until 1887.

Kobrynska was instrumental in the organization of many women's groups that had previously only been organized under religious auspices and without specific feminist intentions. Her aim was to gain political clout for women, since political parties were run by men and men would not be easily persuaded, it was up to women to mitigate their own plight.

Though it is commonly believed that Franko, Pavlyk and other revolutionary socialists were active supporters of the women's cause and of Kobrynska, Dr. Bohachevsky-Chomiak intimates that their support was of a condescending nature. After the December 8, 1884 meeting of her organization at which he spoke, Franko wrote a poem where a woman was pushed off the dais and a man endowed the gathered women with "necessary" human qualities. Still, it was within a socialist system that Kobrynska felt her hopes would be realized for "within the framework of socialism she failed to see how feminism could be viewed as a bourgeois connection".

Kobrynska was writing and speaking in a time still charged with ancient regimes, but nevertheless undergoing fundamental changes. Her audience, the middle class women of Galicia, especially after the assassination of the Tsar, "associated the socialist movement with societal disruption". Any "modernity and progress were identified with revolution". But Galicia was beginning to feel the effects of rapid urbanization. The extended family, once so typical, was breaking into nuclear family units and single women were becoming more prevalent. The

oddy of the female teacher in the 1880's became the common occurrence in less than thirty years — within Kobrynska's lifetime! She was a woman perhaps before her time. She had little endorsement from women of her own class, who were not as yet feeling the societal ills Kobrynska predicted. Her male counterparts advocated a much more revolutionary socialism and opposed Kobrynska's public declaration for moderate gradual change. They could not dispel from their own characters the effects of generations old view of women as inferior to men, even under the premises of equality in the socialist doctrine. Thus, Kobrynska had to contend with distrust from many of her female peers and suspicion, condescension and opposition from several of her political allies.

The results of Kobrynska's efforts were not realized immediately, but she had a profound influence on the feminist movement in Ukraine. Her promotion for the education of women, as well as their need to organize and integrate with the ranks of progressive socialist parties were actualized in the later years of her life. Most of her predictions regarding Galician society were accurate. Her support base grew and the call for universal suffrage and equal educational opportunities emanated from increasingly larger numbers of women in the early years of the 20th century.

In the discussion period that followed her seminar, Dr. Bohachevsky-Chomiak elucidated further upon Kobrynska's personal history and some finer points of her philosophy. Natalia Kobrynska's contribution was one of incitor, organizer and symbol to the women's cause in Ukraine; she was indeed a formulator of feminism.

## Rezoliutsii

(continued from page 7)

### 15. Українська Церква

Оскільки Іотисна Українська Католицька Церква підписала до Патріярхату і Оскільки Укр. Кат. Церква недавно створила Патріярхат і Оскільки Українській Греко-Православній Церкві намагаються об'єднати в одну церкву і Оскільки Українська Євангелістична та Батистська федерація продовжують свої зусилля в об'єднанні всіх українських протестантських сект,

Нехай буде рішення, що 19-тий Конгрес СЦКК вітає зусилля українських церков у їх власних галузях та виводу дух екуменізму між ними і,

Нехай буде дальше рішення, що 19-тий Конгрес СЦКК зазвужує всіх тих осіб та груп, які підписують вище згадані зусилля українських церков.

### 16. Поправка до Конституції — СЦКК

Нехай буде рішення, що:

1. Місце заступника голови, відповідального за зовнішні зв'язки буде викреслено.
2. Наступні відповідальності додати до познці голови:
  - a) буде утримувати зв'язки між СЦККом та всіма крайовими студентськими об'єднаннями, а так само з іншими неукраїнськими організаціями.
  - b) буде утримувати зв'язки з Комітетом українців Канади та з іншими українськими організаціями.
  - c) буде відвідувати конференції та вести дружні розмови з іншими студентськими тілами.
  - d) буде утримувати спілкування з вище згаданими тілами.
3. Додати до відповідальності заступника голови, відповідального за людські права: забезпечувати Канадську Університетську Пресу про людські права.
4. Додати до відповідальності заступника голови екзекутив: сприяти статтям про багатокультурність в Канадській Університетській Пресі.

### 17. Об'єднання Українських Канадських Професіоналістів та Підприємців

Оскільки Об'єднання Українських Канадських Професіоналістів та Підприємців завдяки своїм успішним ініціативам, не дивлячись на обмеження, властиві українському усьогом життю, поступово стає провідною та прогресивною сіллю в напрямку демократизації українського канадського громадянського життя і,

Оскільки Об'єднання постійно показує своє бажання брати участь в допомозі для праці СЦКК, помітно даючи свою безумовну підтримку в порученні за організовану СЦККом промову Леоида Плюща по Канаді (Осінь 1977 рік).

Нехай буде рішення, що екзекутивна СЦКК утримує та скріплює тісні зв'язки з Екзекутивною Об'єднання та бере активну участь в наступній Домініанській Конвенції Об'єднання в Едмонтоні в травні 1979 року.

Нехай буде рішення, що екзекутивна СЦКК приготує брошуру, що висловлює її ставлення по відношенню та майбутню співпрацю СЦКК та Об'єднання і, що ця брошура буде представлена для обговорення та схвалення Західною та Східною Конференцією СЦКК перед конвенцією Об'єднання.

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## Multiculturalism

(continued from page 1)

The afternoon plenary took on some trappings of a circus when the leader of the opposition, Mr. Joe Clark dropped in unexpectedly. After a bit of soft-shoeing, he managed to get to a microphone and say a few words about the "multicultural reality" in Canada today, much to the obvious discomfort of the Honourable Minister. Rumour had it that Prime Minister Trudeau had wanted nothing to do with the multiculturalism conference and that somehow this news reached Clark. And with election fever already in the air...

Association, gave an enthusiastic address in which he outlined plans to include ethnic programming on a proposed nation-wide cable network. Mr. Keating's fervour was surpassed only by that of Mr. Catik's, when the latter spoke that evening at the conference banquet in the Chateau Laurier. Although the Honourable Minister started out with a fair idea of what he wanted to say, he became caught up in his own enthusiasm and rambled on for a long time about no clearly-defined matters. A short stage production titled "Images" followed the ad-

morning arose over the second community leader workshop, "The Future of Ethno-Cultural Organizations in Canada". In fact two reports about the workshop were made, the first by the chairperson of the session — who attempted to appease the suspicion and mistrust he found, and the second by a workshop participant who explained straight-forwardly several complaints which had emerged in the course of discussions. Only the first report was included in the official handouts containing the presentations.

### SUSK Position Paper for the 3rd National Conference of CCCM

Ottawa, October 27-29, 1978

- 1) Canada is a multicultural country with no one official culture.
- 2) Within this framework ethnic communities should be assured a) the right to develop and/or adapt their particular traditional cultures to largely industrial and urban circumstances, and b) aid in their efforts to do so.
- 3) To establish solidly the legitimacy of this claim and to prevent its subjugation to the changing tide of political fortune, the concept/policy of multiculturalism should be put on a legislative base. It should be incorporated as an Act of Parliament and included in the preamble and substantive portions of any forthcoming Canadian constitution.
- 4) To facilitate a rational and well-considered approach to ethnic community development, core-funding should be made available to institutions with continuing programs which are viable and essential for cultural development, i.e., in areas such as language, academic studies, the folk and fine arts.
- 5) Ethnic community organizations are entered into voluntarily and many of those people who head them are limited in their organizational or professional skills. As a result they often do not work to their capacity. Therefore, multicultural programming should include the availability of leadership training for ethnic community leaders and the funding of independent social animators to act as resource people for groups which might lack the expertise or skills they hold.

This set up Trudeau's retaliation at a reception for conference delegates hosted by the Governor-General at Rideau Hall. Trudeau drew a throng of people around him upon his arrival, many of them women attracted by his charisma, some of them skeptics saying they wanted to shake his hand while he was still Prime Minister.

These diversifications did not, however, stop the conference. All day Saturday was devoted to workshops, the youth continuing with theirs and the community leaders starting theirs. Despite their own problems, the youth seemed to make more headway than the community leaders; it could be said that the former talked with one another, the latter at each other.

That day's luncheon speaker, Mr. Charles Keating, President of the Canadian Cable Television

dress. This collage of Canadian ethnic scenes was produced by Taras Shipowick, who closely followed a format he had established with his Odessa Group productions in Toronto. Unfortunately "Images" became increasingly propagandistic as it went along until by the end it became little more than a plea for national unity, almost a sophisticated form of state culture. It received a thunderous standing ovation.

Sunday morning saw the last sessions — the presentation of workshop reports followed by closing remarks. The youth presentations were impressive, and perhaps a bit more to the point than were those of the community leader workshops (the former were written by the delegates themselves, a number of the latter by the chairpersons of the individual sessions). The greatest controversy of the

When the smoke had settled, Mr. Catik made some final comments, none of which were directly relevant to what had been discussed at the conference. His talk could have been delivered at any time before or after the conference with no substantial difference in tone. Perhaps the most significant thing the Minister said was that all recommendations could not be implemented and that some, in fact, already had been. He ended his address with a homily about the fact that he and his staff had learned much from this conference, that he hoped all 600 or so delegates had also learned, and that he felt both parties "have been enriched and have benefited by being together". Senator Bosa echoed this sentiment that all had somehow gained by the mutual exchange of opinions.

However, much more than simply "meeting, speaking, and learning about each other in a feeling of mutual self-respect" is needed if anything is to become of multiculturalism in Canada today. The conference's irresolute conclusion makes one despair whether any of the recommendations will be followed up and whether Mr. Catik is serious about coming to grips with the numerous issues brought up.

Part 2 in the next edition of STUDENT will deal with some of the issues arising from this Third Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism.

## Media

(continued from page 6)

ferences, with no response. Should several clubs begin programming locally, SUSK could play a further role of organising a city-to-city exchange of appropriate programmes, which is allowed by CRTC regulations. However, it students remain uninterested in video for whatever reasons (eg. it is a huge commitment in terms of time), I think SUSK should venture with the idea into the broader community.

Here, SUSK could play its tailor-made role of co-ordinator. For example, SUSK could host a two day conference on media possibilities in the context of Ukrainian programmes. Having assembled Ukrainians who work professionally in media, knowledgeable non-professionals and those with more than a passing interest in this subject, SUSK could propose that this group form an association and work out a Ukrainian television programme with the target of airing it on CTV. The community needs *chutzhah*.

SUSK's rule should be mainly to instigate ideas and to bring people together. Frankly I don't think SUSK should be involved in the actual work of putting programmes to air; conditions in SUSK don't allow for it, and SUSK could be more useful in the area of the CBC Action.

In terms of giving support to media projects arising out of the community, SUSK should be aware of, and support, the Toronto multilingual broadcasting television station being proposed by the Kossar group before the CRTC on 19 September.

The Kossar group would like a mainband channel to broadcast eighty-four hours a week in twenty-nine languages to an audience of four million around Lake Ontario. Programming would be unilingual and heavily bilingual (eg. Ukrainian-English) in order that communication would extend cross-culturally. After all, this is a commercial television station which requires appropriate ratings to attract advertisers; therefore the larger the audience, the better. Fifty-five percent of the programming on this station would be

locally produced; the rest either Canadian-purchased or foreign-purchased. Programme content is to be controlled by the station staff in consultation with an advisory board composed of representatives of the various ethnic communities. Specific programmes or series will be contracted out to the communities who will not be saddled with the responsibility of raising their own advertising revenue. This aspect will be taken care of by the station. Within the planned programme schedule, three hours a week is allotted to Ukrainian of which two hours is to be locally produced and one hour will be a purchased programme, possibly something from Soviet Ukraine or elsewhere. The Kossar group hopes to expand its services beyond the Lake Ontario area to the rest of Canada by cable company extension into the market. Thus we see the possibility of the Kossar group generating Ukrainian programmes for all the Ukrainian populated areas of Canada. The other implication of this project is that the Ukrainian community should be prepared in terms of personnel and ideas to bear the responsibility of two hours of programming a week.

SUSK could support this proposal in its present stages of hearings before the CRTC, and should the project be realised, there may be a fuller and more creative role for SUSK members to play in actually programming in Ukrainian.

To sum up, these are the areas SUSK may concentrate on in media:

- 1) CBC Action: lobby for amendment to the Broadcasting Act which would clearly state a responsibility for multilingual broadcasting.
- 2) encourage local clubs or local interest groups in the Ukrainian community to exploit the favourable conditions for video programmes on cable.
- 3) stimulate some of the professionals and those interested to form an association to develop programme ideas and search for funding with the aim of production on a television network.
- 4) take an interest in the multilingual TV proposal of the Kossar group.

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## Multiculturalism

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